

T H E
Explanation of the FRONTPESPIECE.

SEE the sad Trophies of our Civil Wars,
 The fatal Period of Intestine Jars:
 Behold th' insulting Monster! with what Pride,
 Mounted on high, she does in Triumph ride?
 Whilst at her Feet three weeping Beauties lye,
 Three Nations doom'd t' Eternal Slavery.
 Unhappy *Albion*! she that was ere-while
Albion the Fair, the Free, the Fort'nate Isle,
 The Fear and Envy of all Foreign Lands,
 Now takes inglorious Shackles from her Hands.
 The Northern Thistle hangs her snowy Head,
 To see her * Maiden Castle ravished:
 Bleeding *Jerney's* ready to Expire,
 Her heart-strings broak, as well as tuneless Lyre:
 See where a Murder'd Monarch breathless lies!
 With her own Sword there wounded Justice dies.
 Lo! where the Pop'lar Darling Liberty,
 That æry nothing Name does captive lye,
 Her Pinions clipt; her Finger lets you see
 There's nothing but Repenting Thought left free.
 So caged *Philomel* securely Sings,
 But having got the Freedom of her Wings,
 While to her Native Woods she clips away,
 Poor *Philomel* becomes the Faulcon's prey.
 So from the Fold and the slain Shepherd's Eye,
 Fond Flocks regain their desert Liberty;
 But in Exchange of Government and Laws,
 They meet their Death from Wolves devouring Jaws.
 More foolish, sure, and much more brutish Men,
 Once thus deceiv'd, to be deceiv'd again?
 Thus Scepters, Crowns, Religion, Justice, Laws,
 Became the Triumphs of the *Black Old Cause*,
 Whilst Wing'd Ambition, groundless Jealousie,
 Flaming Rebellion, Dismal Anarchy,
 To roll her hissing Wheels each Foaming strives;
 Needs must they go, whom such a *Jehu* drives!
 But would you know the End of this Carreer?
 He best can tell, ask the *Black Charioteer*.

* *Edinburgh*
 Castle so
 called, till
 taken by *O-*
liver Crom-
wel.

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A
TRUE COPY
OF THE
JOURNAL
OF
The High Court of Justice,
FOR THE
TRYAL
OF
K. CHARLES I.

As it was Read in the
House of Commons ,
AND
Attested under the hand of PHELPS,
Clerk to that Infamous Court.

Taken by J. NALSON, LL D. Jan. 4. 1683.

With a Large Introduction.

LONDON,

Printed by H. C. for Thomas Dring, at the Harrow at
the Corner of Chancery-Lane in Fleet-street, 1684.

TO THE READER.

THere is one thing which I thought my self obliged to give the Purchasers of these Papers some satisfaction in, before they come to Read them; and that is, Why, since I am Imbarqued in a General Design of giving an Impartial Account of the Transactions of those dismal Revolutions, from the *Scottish* Rebellion, to the Execrable Murder of this deplorable Prince, two Volumes whereof are already Extant, I should anticipate that Work which cannot be compleat without this very Journal; and therefore why it should come out single, and in some sort before the due time?

In answer to which, I have much to say, and that which I hope may be very satisfactory to others, as well as it hath been to my self. For, I did seriously consider, by the slow Progress of that Heavy Work, which I wish had fallen upon more able Shoulders, that though I may without Vanity affirm, I have toiled in it with such Assiduity and Zeal, as hath not been extreme propitious either to my Health or Estate, yet such is the multiplicity of the swelling Matter; so great is the Difficulty of sifting out Truth, notwithstanding the little distance of Time; and the Materials for Composing those Collections are to be drawn together from so many remote and distant Quarters, that it cannot be rationally expected by others, I am sure from former tryal, it is not to be hoped by my self, that a Work of that Nature and Proportion should be finished without the assistance of a considerable time, and even so much the more, because I am obliged out of the desire I have to accomplish it, to play the good Husband with the Oyl of both my Lamps of Life and Fortune, since if either of those happen to be burnt out, the other will not light the Work to its Journeys End.

I then further considered with my self, how long this very Original Journal had slept in Obscurity, and that there was nothing of that Nature so in every Circumstance and Punctilio authentique and convincing of that Horrid Murther made Publique, I blamed those who had so long concealed it, and considering how great a Wonder it was, that it had not been lost, and *quam multa cadunt inter Poculum supremaq; labra*; how possible it was still to be lost, I thought I ought not to be guilty of what I thought was blamable in others, but that it ought to be made Publique, lest Posterity should lose one of the most irrefragable Demonstrations of the Recorded Villany of those Persons and Principles, and for want thereof, come to call in question the Truth of the Charge against these Factionous Rebels and Regicides of the Dissenting Separation. I saw with what unwearied Industry, the present Dissenters, *Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists*, and other Sects, indeavoured to palliate, extenuate, nay and even wholly deny the Guilt of that *Royal Blood*; I saw all this, and from their former Actions, and later Attempts, from
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To the Reader.

the necessary Conclusions which follow from their Positions and Principles, I could not but foresee Dangerous Consequences of permitting them to Seduce the Nation into an Opinion and Belief of their Innocence and Sanctity : And upon the strength of these and many such like Motives, I thought my self under the most pressing Obligations of Duty, of Interest, and of Conscience, to do all that I was able towards the Preservation of His Majesties Royal Person, Dignity, and Government, the Safety of the most Glorious and Apostolical Church in the World, and the Establishment of the Peace and Happiness of the *English* Nation, of the Danger which threatned all these, I could not but entertain most terrible apprehensions, if these their avowed and implacable Enemies were quietly permitted to go on proselyting the People to their Party, for want of a Faithful Discovery and Free Exposure of their Horrible Wickedness, Hypocrisies, Treasons, Rebellions, and Execrable Practices and Doctrines, which are Destructive and Ruinous of all Government, Religion, and even Humane Society. And this being to be proved by their own Writings, and under their own Hands, I thought I was not to neglect the Opportunity of doing this Service to the Publique, especially considering that we have their own Words to confirm us in the just Apprehensions we have of them, which assure us that our Fears and our Danger from them are very just and too well grounded, both upon their Confession and our own Experience.

Now many things herein recited would not so well have fallen in with the Historical Account of those Times, and to give but even an Abstract or a bare Catalogue of all the Seditious, Treasonable, Horrible Sermons and Vile Pamphlets of that Age would fill some Volumes ; and therefore I thought I might with greater decency to the Design of those Collections, not only spare them there, but with greater advantage also to the present Juncture of our Affairs, and the Circumstances of the Nation, give a short Account of them in the Introduction to the Tryal and Murder of the King, to which they were in reality the bloody Preface, and in a Book of a smaller Price, which therefore in probability would fall into more hands.

This I hope will be sufficient to preserve me in the good Opinion of the Loyal and Ingenuous, who will not think it an Injury to endeavour by this Precaution to serve them though a little too forwardly for the Regular Course of the following Collections ; and for any persons of a different Character, since I am assured that this Discourse whenever it should come, would not be very agreeable to them, I am not so foolish as to be solicitous for the displeasure of those, whom I should be much more foolish, if I should ever hope to please.

A JOUR-

TO HIS
Royal Highness
JAMES
DUKE of YORK,
ALBANY,
AND
ULSTER, &c.

ROYAL SIR,

HOW much the English Name and Nation are obliged to Your Royal Highness, the voluntary Exposing of Your Illustrious Life to the most hazardous and Dreadful of all Combats and Dangers, for their Interest and for their Glory, will be an Eternal Testimony so long as Fame shall be able to celebrate them with her immortal Trumpet; and not to mention that Bravery and Conduct which in a thousand Occasions You have shewn at Land. Those Terrible Actions
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The Epistle Dedicatory.

upon the British Ocean, whose Thundering Eccho's have transported Your Glory to the remotest Shores, will for ever rank Your Name among the greatest and most famous Captains of the World.

One would think it impossible, that even while the Laurels were yet fresh upon Your Conquering Brow, there should be found any so enviously Malicious, to endeavour to blast them; and with a base Ingratitude, by conspiring Your Disgrace, Your Ruin and Destruction so to repay Your Merit, and their Deliverance and Preservation from the Hostile Attempts of Powerful and Encroaching Neighbours, who by cutting the sinews of our Traffique, endeavoured to divest His Majesty of his glorious Inheritance the Sovereignty of the four Seas, and His Subjects of those Riches which Maritime Industry entituled them to.

But this is the natural effect of those Principles of Zealous Separatists, the implacable Enemies not only of Your Royal House and Person but even of the Monarchy it self; and certainly none but such prodigious Monsters whom no Goodness is capable of Obliging, nor Innocence of Escaping, could so suddenly have Extinguished the Remembrance how freely Your Highness had Exposed Your Illustrious Life to Preserve not only the Reputation, but the just Dominion of the Sea to the English Nation, as to be induced contrary to all the Laws of God or Man, and all the Obligations of Duty, Gratitude, and Humanity, to endeavour to Disinherit and Exclude Your Royal Highness, from Your Hereditary Right of Succession, to the Land. And to those who measure them according to their former

The Epistle Dedicatory.

mer Actions, it will appear no Wonder to find the present Dissenters so exactly resembling their Parents and Predecessors in Cruelty, Ingratitude, and Treason; or that they should so violently endeavour to Exclude the Son from the Right of Succession, who so inhumanely and barbarously Excluded his Father from the Possession both of his Crown and Life, and our Gracious Sovereign, so long as they had the least Power, from his undoubted Right, the Throne of his Illustrious Ancestours and Predecessours.

But if their endeavours for Exclusion, fill'd the minds of many who did not thoroughly understand their Design, with surprize and amazement, their late Explanation of themselves, by the infamous Commentary of the most ungenerous Treason, have fill'd their hearts with Horror and Detestation against such base Actions and Brutish Principles, as lead men under pretence of Religion and Conscience to the most ignominious and Cowardly Villany of Assassinating Sovereign Princes.

But His Majesty and Your Royal Highness having by the immediate Care of Heaven, Escaped these Dangers, as it fills all Loyal Hearts with Dutiful Joy; so it instructs them, from their Danger, of the inseparable Necessity of their Interest and their Duty; and that they ought not only to satisfy themselves with a Passive Loyalty, but to Use their most Active Endeavours to contribute what lies in their Power, to Secure the Publique Peace, and support the Government. And as it is the Interest so it is the Glory of the Church of England, that She hath not the least blemish of Disloyalty in Her Beautiful Face, but that
Her

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Her Fidelity to the Crown hath been Tried to the Uttermost, and She hath Constantly endeavoured to suppress the Growth and Progress of these Fatal Principles, Destructive of all that is Great and Good, and for my own particular, as I esteem it my greatest Honour to be one of Her meanest Servants, so I look upon it as my chiefest Glory, if I can be capable of doing any Services against these Wicked and Dangerous Principles, which may incline Your Highness to pardon the presumption of this Address, and the Ambition of avowing my self,

Great Sir,

Your Highnesses

most Humble and

most Obedient

Servant

J. Nalson.

I

THE
INTRODUCTION:
OR,
PREFACE
TO THE
JOURNAL
of the Proceedings of the
High Court of Justice,
FOR THE
TRYAL
OF
King Charles I.
Of Blessed Memory.

THERE have been few Ages or Regions of the World, which have not produced Monsters of Ingratitude and Cruelty, Treachery and Hypocrisie, the blackest and basest of all Crimes; Popularity and Ambition have blown from every point of the Compass, and have raised such Tempests through-
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out the Worlds vast Circumference, that few places can be found, which have not suffered under their violent Effects, the Deluges and Inundations of Treasons, Conspiracies, and Rebellions: The miserable Wrecks of Kingdoms and Empires, shatter'd and broken by their Fury, are still visible in the Maps of History and Chronology; and if we enquire more curiously into the Fate and Fall of the most Glorious Monarchies and Flourishing Governments that have been in the Universe, we shall find, That treacherous *Ambition* hath ever undermined the Foundations, and that successful *Usurpation* assisted by *Popular Frenzy*, hath thrown down their lofty Battlements, and laid them level with the Dust. Most wretched certainly have those Places and People been, wherever these two Enemies of Mankind have enter'd; for these extraordinary Changes and *Revolutions*, however begun with the most plausible Pretences of *The Publick Good*, *the Redressing of Grievances*, *Asserting of Popular Liberty*, *Representing of Tyranny*, or *Reforming of Government*, have always been managed with vast Expences of humane Blood, have been accompanied with all manner of Outrages, Violence, Cruelty, Injustice, Rapine, Destructions, and horrible Mischiefs; and have been consummated and finished in the *Slavery*, even of those, who had so prodigally expended their Blood and Treasure to promote those *Usurpations*.

Nor is it necessary to establish the truth of this Assertion, by introducing a long train of Examples, since it is so obvious, as at first sight to occur to the memory and observation of such, as have any manner of acquaintance with the Histories of former Times, or have almost in any sort travelled beyond the Smoke of their own Fires.

But certainly, no Age, no Time, no Country, is able to afford us a *Parallel* to that horrible *Tragedy* which was so lately Acted upon our own *Theatre*: Never was there a more horrid, premeditated Conspiracy, whose Foundations were laid so deep, so secret, and with so much devilish Art: Never was any *Treason*, after it once came to look abroad, and was fledg'd into the Cockatrice of *Rebellion*, more furious and impetuous: Never any *Rebellion* more
dissual,

disfmal, bloody, wicked, or outrageous; and never did *Prosperous Treason* animate the *Traitors* to those unheard of flights of insolent Wickedness, so as not only to subvert the Government, and dethrone their Sovereign, but to Arraign and Judge, Condemn and Execute their *King*, with all the solemn and impudent Formalities of pretended Justice, even in the Face of the Sun, and view of the whole World, as if they would at the same instant defie both the Vengeance of Heaven and Earth.

Nor was it the least degree either of the Artifice or Villany of those Execrable Conspirators, that, like the *Devil*, they came clothed in *Samuel's* Mantle, and covered their Rebellion with the Popular Varnish of Religion, which they did with that success, that not *Mahomet* himself, that prodigious *Impostor*, ever seduced the wild *Arabians*, with his Pidgeon and pretended Inspirations, to those degrees, that these Sanctimonious Rebels did the credulous *Herd* (for they deserve no better name) of their Partisans and Followers: Nor was it a few Wild and Crazy *Enthusiasts* only, that made these pretensions, and that wicked use of them, to such extraordinary Commerces with *Heaven*, even when they were out-doing *Hell* in Mischief, but the whole Lump and Mass of the Faction, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, the Assembly of their *Divines*, the Leading men of the Faction, and the following Crow'd great and small, of what Sects or denominations soever, however mortally disagreeing in other things, all of them according to their degrees, more or less, unanimously laid a claim to Inspiration, and an immediate Familiarity with *God Almighty*: Nothing was more frequent in their Mouths, than *seeking God*, and they were sure to find him in their *Extempore Effusions*, which they arrogantly boasted were the dictates of the *Holy Ghost*, and which, to depress the Established *Liturgie* and stated Forms, was, by way of Eminence and Excellency, by them termed *praying by the Spirit*. The successes, which, for reasons best known to the Supreme Wisdom, followed their Rebellious Arms, they boldly called *the Return of those Prayers*, and by an impious insolence, peculiar to them, they Intituled *God* to the most transcendent wickedness, endeavouring to consecrate *Murder, Treason,*

Sacrilege, Perjury and all their most horrible Impieties, by ascribing them to the immediate direction, and almost Miraculous Cooperation of Divine Providence: And with this Devilish Hypocrisie, they so dazled the infatuated Vulgar, and less discerning minds of the People, that what they so arrogantly boasted, came to be almost as easily, and generally believed, That that Cause must needs be Gods, which was carried on by a praying People; and being successful must needs be blessed; and that, as they fought for God, which they never failed to proclaim, so he reciprocally ingaged in their Party, and fought for them. Thus the Famous Doctor of the Independents, could, with the utmost Effrontery, harangue the People at this rate, Where is the God of Marston-Moor? and the God of Naseby? is an acceptable Expostulation in a Gloomy day. O what a Catalogue of Mercies has this Nation to plead by in a time of trouble! God came from Naseby, and the Holy one from the West, Selah. (Owens Ebenezer. p. 13. And indeed this was the constant Method of these Impostors, to magnifie themselves and Cause, and to give both Courage and Reputation to their Party, by intituling God to the dismal Consequences of lucky Rebellion.

But the Vizard by continual use was at last worn so thin, that the ugly and real *Devil* began to appear through the painted *Angel* of Light; and those Reforming Saints, began to tread so heavy upon the neck of the *Nation*, that they found they had mistaken shrewdly; and that it was a *Cloven-foot*, with which these high pretenders to the *Cloven-tongues*, trampled upon, and broke in pieces, the Government, Ancient Laws, Liberties, Properties, and even Religion it self, and that the *Cause*, which before was said to be *God's*, was in reality at last nothing but their *Own*; a perfect Foot-stool, by which they mounted themselves to the *Throne* of Sovereign, boundless, and unaccountable *Power*. For the *Royal Prerogative*, the true supporter of the Peoples Liberties and Laws, being gone, and the Royal Party and Power broken, I find * a Petition, Dec. 9th. 1647. from the Counties of Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Essex, Herts, Berks, Bucks, Oxon, Suffolk, Northampton, Dorset, Sommerfet, Lancashire, Lincolne, Cheshire, Durham, Cumberland, Worcester, and

* Tomalin's Collection of Petitions Anno 1647.

and *Warwick*, most grievously and lamentably complaining of Free Quarter, and their Miseries under the Oppression of the Army, and of the Insolence of the Soldiers, who would frequently call them to their Faces, *Conquered Slaves*, and treat them accordingly; as also complaining of the *Remonstrances*, and other Papers of the Army, destructive of all Liberty, and even of their darling *Parliaments*, which they had so often, and so solemnly *Protested*, *Covenanted*, and Vowed to defend and maintain.

But the *Faction* wholly threw off the useless Mask themselves, when having entirely subdued the scattering Remains of the Loyal Party, the *Army* by their interest in the *Commons-house*, most of the Principal Officers having been obtruded upon the Nation, as their *Representatives* there, and none daring to oppose them, began not only to usurp the Sovereign Power, but to subvert the very Foundations of the Ancient *English* Government, and by the Destruction not only of the *King*, but of the *Monarchy* it self, to erect a new *Democratique Tyranny* under the name of *The Commonwealth of England*; In which the People, though nothing less was intended them, were in themselves Originally, and by deputation in their *Representatives*, pretended to be the *Supreme Authority* of this Nation; but in reality these *Representatives*, who became such by the prevailing Authority of the Sword, and not by free Elections, being just so many boundless and unlimited *Tyrants*, whose Will was a Law, and to whose imperious pleasure all the rest of the *Nation* were constrained to submit, and take from their hands the most Arbitrary Yoke of Vassallage and *Slavery*; every thing lay at the discretion of their Mercy, the Laws, the Lives, the Liberties, the Estates of all, without distinction or discrimination, the *Peer* and the *Peasant* were wholly and entirely subjugated to their uncontrollable *Jurisdiction*; and as to *Religion*, their first and great Pretence, that was left to shift for it self, all men being left at Liberty to chuse any or none; and it was all one now to these glorious *Reformers*, whether a man were an *Infidel*, a *Pagan*, a *Mahometan*, or a *Jew*, provided he had the wit to say it was his *Conscience*, and make Profession to live peaceably, and acquiesce under
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their Government; nay a *Petition* was drawn by the Council of Officers of the Army, that the Laws for banishing the *Jews* might be repealed, and *Hugh Peters* and *Henry Marten* were their Solicitors in a bargain, which these professed and most bitter Enemies of Christ, and his Religion, were driving, to give the State 500000 l. for their Readmission, to have the inestimable Library at *Oxford*, and the most Ancient Christian Temple, the Cathedral of *St. Paul* for a *Synagogue*; and, durst these Reformers have spared it from being a constant Horse-guard to keep the City of *London* in Obedience, there is little doubt to be made, but *Moses* had justled *Christ* out of possession, and the two Tables, would have banished the four *Evangelists*, as wanting money to maintain their Title; but it was no wonder, if they treated the *Apostles* at this rate, for they were *Bishops*, and under the Censure of the *Covenant* for Extirpation of *Root and Branch*; and therefore in this General Indulgence, *Prelacy*, and *Popery*, which were always by them coupled together, as being too Friendly to *Monarchy*, and the *Royal Interest*, were the only Spiritual Traffique, that was prohibited upon severest Penalties. Thus ended the true and ancient *English Liberty*, which for above a thousand years successively had flourished under the Warm and Benigne influences of *Hereditary Monarchy*; and thus, this so much boasted Glorious Liberty and *Reformation*, which was begun with Tumults and Sedition, pursued and managed by Rebellion, Perjury, and the deepest Hypocrisie, was at last consummated by the Cruel and Open Murder of the best and most Illustrious Sovereign of the Christian World: A Prince, whose greatest Errors were his Gracious Concessions and Condescensions to these base and ingrateful Men; who deriving their very *Being*, as a *Parliament*, from his Sovereign Will, whereby he passed that Fatal *Bill*, by which they were permitted to Sit, till they should consent to their own Dissolution, they misemployed this unpresidented Bounty, to compass, not only His, but the Final Dissolution of the Government: Thereby leaving an *Eternal Caution*, to all succeeding *Princes*, to be very sparing of such dangerous and unlimited Bounties, as put the *Receivers* under the power-

powerful Temptation of tasting the forbidden Fruit of the Tree of Sovereignty, and thereby may prove ruinous to the *Givers*.

It is very difficult to determine, whether the Guilt or the Infamy of this unparallel'd Murder, hath laid heavier upon the *English* Name and Nation: Certainly the Reproach will be the longer liver, by how much God is more merciful than Men, and usually his Vengeance does not extend it self to many Generations; and one might well hope, that Heaven as well as our Gracious *King*, the Son and Successour of this *Royal Martyr*, were in a great Measure atoned, by the Exemplary Justice that hath been deservedly inflicted upon diverse of the *Criminals*, who though for a time they prospered in their flagitious Wickedness, yet the triumphing of the Wicked was but short, and that God to whom Vengeance belongs, was pleased, even, in this world, to assert the Justice of his Providence, which they had so often blasphemed by making it a Party to their Crimes, by bringing these Execrable Murderers, and Regicides to the Punishment and Infamy due to such monstrous Malefactors; but then on the other side, to see the Dissipated Remainers of these Rebellious Factions, as soon as the Lightning and Thunder of *Divine* Vengeance, which had slain their Fellows, and struck them down with fear and astonishment; I say, to see these very persons, so soon as ever the storm is over, and the hopes of security had dissipated their Fears, so far from a real penitence for their Own, or the Horrid Crimes of their *Associates*, that they reassemble their scattered Hopes, and unite all their Hearts, Heads, and Hands to oppose the Son, as they did the Father, and that, by avowing, justifying, and most tenaciously adhering to the same Bloody and Rebellious *Principles*, they proceed upon all occasions to increase, propagate, and animate a Faction against the present Government, rewarding the Clemency of a *Prince*, no less a wonder for his Pardoning, than his *Royal Father* was for Suffering Injuries, by tracing the very same *Methods*, and making use of the same Arts and Engines, which overthrew his *Royal Father*, exclaiming against Popery and Slavery, and by accusing the Government of Designs

to introduce them, to fill the heads of the People with furious Fears, and raging Jealousies, and at the same time both to alienate the Affections of his People from their King, and by Disobedience to his Ecclesiastical Laws, to teach them a Contempt even of his Secular Power, and to put them even into the nearest approaches to Sedition, and to seem to want nothing but a favourable occasion to precipitate them into a new Rebellion; all this considered, one cannot but be tempted to think that this ingrateful impotence, and obstinacy, menaces these obdurate Sinners with some Uncommon and Remarkable Vengeance.

Amongst all their other Arts, so dangerous and destructive to the present Constitution of our Government, I cannot think it either the smallest or least dangerous, which the *Dissenters*, from the Monarchick Government as well as the Church of *England*, have made use of; for though nothing of Fact can be more notoriously true, than that they actually either Murther'd the late *King*, or were Aiding, Abetting, and Assisting to such as did, yet to preserve some Reputation to their *Party*, and that they may be able to increase it, by such as they can by their pretensions to Purity and Sanctity delude, they constantly endeavour to shift all the Guilt of this Execrable *Regicide* from themselves, and charge it upon others; the Fact, they are well aware, is so ugly and wicked in its own Nature, and accompanied with so many aggravating Circumstances, that there are few Natures, who would not at first sight start at it, as at the Apparition of some terrible *Dæmon*; this therefore must be totally denied, where it may with success, or palliated by making the *King* Guilty of the War, and of his own Murder, the Effect of it; full well do these *Deceivers* know, that if the poor infatuated People were really perswaded and convinced, that the Leaders of their Party, and the precious Men their *Teachers*, had been Guilty of such a detestable Murder, even the Dictates of common Sense, Reason, and Natural Religion would instruct them, That such Guilty *Miscreants*, whose Hands blushed with Innocent Blood, must needs be unfit to lift up to Heaven, the just Avenger of it; and that such Men must needs be very unfit and improper Guides and Conductors of

of others to *Heaven*, who had travelled so far in Rebellion, the High Road to *Hell*, without ever looking, or making one step backwards by Repentance.

The *Presbyterians* therefore in this particular have ever stood high upon their Justification, as being therefore Innocent of the Guilt of this *Royal Blood*, because then when the Fatal Stroke was given, they were luckily displaced from the Helm of State, by the prevailing Faction and Interest of the *Independents*: The *Independents*, when they are charged with this barbarous *Fact*, they endeavour to transfer all the blame from themselves and Party, by throwing it upon a *Junto* of ill men, who then Governed, and had gotten all the Power; and though those very bloody and infamous *Traitors*, *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, *Peters*, *Nye*, &c. were, while living, esteemed by them most *Heroick* and renowned *Saints*, and would have Pillars and Monuments erected to their immortal Memories, had they Power equal to their Kindness to those Glorious Villains, who are still the Idols of their Hearts; yet they would make this pass for excuse sufficient for the whole Company of their Perswasion, that they were not every individual man of them actually upon the *Trial* and Condemnation of the *King*, or set their Hands and Seals to the Warrant for his Execution: So that consenting to, approving, and applauding the *Fact* when done, must pass for Innocence, that so they may plead Not Guilty, though after all this, the Survivors of those differing Factions, and their Successors in the same *Principles*, were never heard or known to manifest so much, as, in the cheap way of words, their unfeigned detestation, and abhorrence of that wicked *Rebellion*, which brought the King to that deplorable Death; and I think, without breach of Charity, I may introduce their Famous *Baxter*, who is the whole Schisme in *Epitome*, neither *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, &c. but both, and all of them, speaking the true sense of the whole body of the *Separation*; and I am confident, if they had all one Mouth, and he were the Tongue (the Office he would chuse) he would speak for them in his Language of the Holy Common-wealth; *I cannot see that I was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if*

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it were to do again in the same state of things. (Baxters Holy Common-wealth, pag. 486.)

And therefore, if this Argument happens to be started, though the late *Statute*, which makes some sorts of Language Treasonable, render them more cautious and reserved, yet they will plead for themselves, that Matters were carried to those Extremities, much beyond the intention of those who first took up Arms against the *evil Counsellors*, and had no ill Design either against the Person of the *King*, or his just Power and *Prerogative*; but they will dye before they will acknowledge, that the *War* on the *Parliament's* side, let the pretended Reasons be what they will, was unjust and unlawful, and that the taking up Arms by Subjects against their King, is not only unlawful but damnable: Now the maintaining of this *Opinion* of the Lawfulness of the War, was that which in reality cut off the *Kings* Head: And will be the *Eternal* Parent of future *Rebellions*, so long as it is propagated and received. For if *Subjects* may upon any colourable pretensions, which can never be wanting so long as Men are Wicked enough to invent them, be allowed to take up Arms against their *King*; it is morally impossible but things must proceed to the utmost Extremities; for he that draws his Sword against his *King*, must throw away the Scabbard; and it is a Crime of so high a Nature, that tho' there should be found a *King* of so God-like a Temper, as really to pardon the greatest *Rebels*, yet the Consciousness of their own Guilt, and the perpetual apprehensions of deserved Punishment, will never permit such *Rebels* to believe his intentions real and sincere, and therefore the uneasiness of their fears, naturally conducts them to cure their Fears, and consult their future Safety, by removing the Cause of their distrust and danger.

But however these two Factions, and the Spawn of them, may endeavour to palliate this horrid Guilt, and, that they may be the better enabled to maintain their Party and increase it, may endeavour to acquit themselves by criminalizing one another, nothing is more evident, than that both these Factions of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and the other lesser Sects and Schismatics which sprung from

from their Roots, were actually Guilty of the *Kings Murder*; and that not only by their fomenting and carrying on the War against him, whereby he was reduced to those Extremities, that he was forced to throw himself upon the Perjured *Scottish Presbyterians*, who sold him to the *English Independents*, who Murdered him, but also by not hindring and preventing the doing of it. For it is a most certain Truth, *Qui non prohibet, cum potest, jubet*. For instance, Two Thieves bind an honest Man and rob him, one is for dispatching him out of the way, that he may not ever be in a capacity to prosecute them, the other pretends, he does not so well approve of that last Extremity; while they are in the contest, the honest Mans Servant comes up, and finding his Master in that condition, puts himself in a posture to attempt his Rescue; now he who was pretend- edly against the Murder, though he could well enough dis- pence with the Robbery, if he had meant sincerely, ought rather to have assisted the Loyal Servant in his Generous and Dutiful Design; and it had then been easie to have deliver- ed the despoiled Prisoner, at least from the danger of Death; but instead of this, he joyns with his former Companion, and assists him first to dispatch the Servant, who indea- voured his Masters Deliverance, and then sits him down, while his Companion sends his Fetter'd Master to keep him Company. Now do I appeal to God and Men, whe- ther both these men were not involved in equal guilt, as well he, who help'd to bind, disarm, and rob the Master, and opposed the honest endeavour of his Servant to deli- ver him, as he who actually imbrued his Hands in their innocent Blood.

The Case is exactly the same, but under this more hai- nous aggravation, that *Royal Blood* is much more valuable and Sacred, than that which runs in Common veins. The Zealous *Presbyterian Saints* began the late Rebellion, and the *Independents* and other *Schismatics*, being associated with them in that Traiterous Combination of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, they joyntly and unanimously pro- secuted the War, and, by murdering of such of his Loy- al Subjects, as out of Duty and Conscience came to his assistance, having subdued his Forces, they got his Person

into their Power. The *Independents*, having in the mean time gotten the Ascendant of Power over the *Presbyterians*, were absolutely for assuring their Usurpation by the *King's* death; on the other side the *Presbyterians*, more out of detestation of the *Independents*, who now began to deride their Discipline, and have their *Blew-Cap-Reformation*, as they termed it, in the utmost contempt and hatred, than out of true Loyalty and Duty to the *King*, were for shackling of His Majesty with *Parliament Fetters*, and so to let him live; hoping under the protection of his Authority and Name, to re-establish their own Power, and subdue the *Independents*: And for this purpose was all the noise of a *Personal Treaty* with the *King*, during his Confinement at *Cairsbrook Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*; in which, if they had meant honourably and sincerely, they might have had such Conditions as would have brought sufficient advantage and reputation, both to their Cause and Interest: But so stiff were they in their Demands, and so cautious to put strong and lasting Fetters upon His Majesty, that the whole *Treaty* came to nothing. In the mean time the *Royalists*, seeing the gasping condition of the *King* and Monarchy, and that nothing but the most abject Vassallage was to be expected from those Men, who were resolved to make their *King* a *Royal Slave*; they summoned their scattered Force to make one Vigorous Attempt for his deliverance: Now, had the *Presbyterians* joyned in that generous Design, in all humane probability, the *King* had been rescued from his Captivity among the *Independents*; by which means they might have obtained honourable Conditions of Oblivion, Security and Accommodation for the Present, and Reputation for the Future: But so far were they from this, that mortally hating the *Loyal Party*, they contributed all that lay in their power to assist the *Independent Army* under *Fairfax*, or indeed *Cromwel*, for the other was but a *Cypher*, utterly to ruine and subdue the slender Remains of Loyalty which had taken Arms in *Kent* and *Essex*; which when it was accomplished, by the surrender of *Colchester*, and the Execution of the Noble *Capel*, *Lisle*, and *Lucas*, the *Independents* fell presently upon their Bloody Project of cutting off the *King*, and subverting the
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the *Monarchy*, which they also effected, the *Presbyterians* all this while sitting still and looking on: Whereas, had they ever heartily opposed such a detestable Wickedness, their Party was then so considerable, that, with the Addition of the *Loyal Interest*, which was not so dead, but that upon the least hope it would have revived and joyned them, they might have given such a shock to the *Independent* Faction, that they would difficultly, if ever, have been able to accomplish or execute their Execrable Design against the Life of the *King*; but so far were they from this, that there was not the least Attempt to oppose the *Traitors*, or prevent the *Treason*. Nay, had the Rabble of the *City* and *Suburbs*, which were much at the Devotion of the *Presbyterian* Interest, had but half so much Zeal to hurry down to *Westminster*, to oppose the Murder of the *King*, as they had before times to oppose him, and cry up *Priviledge of Parliament*, in the beginning of the *Tumults*, it is very disputable, whether *Cromwel*, with all his black *Myrmidons*, would have had the Courage to strike the Fatal Stroke. But the *Presbyterians* are only Courageous in Rebellion, but perfect Cowards in the Cause of *Loyalty*.

But to these little palliating shifts, to which the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* have been reduced, to varnish and guild over their Infamous Actions, they have now very lately found out another, and that is, to vindicate themselves, by charging the whole Contrivance and Execution of this hellish Murder of the late *King*, upon the *Papists*: And though nothing in the *World* is more ridiculous or remote from the truth in most demonstrable Matter of Fact, yet it is incredible, how much the belief of this senseless Fiction and *Romance* has gained upon this new Generation of the *Vulgar* Profelytes of the Dissenters: And I speak it of my own knowledge, that in Discourse with divers of them, when I have made use of this Argument of the Wickedness and Infamy of the most Eminent *Patrons* of their Religion, who, as *Mr. Baxter* confesses of himself, when he tells us, *I have been in the heat of my Zeal so forward to Changes and Ways of Blood, that I fear God will not let me have a hand in the Building of his Church,*

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Hypocrisie unveil'd, R. Baxter's *Letters to Dr. Hill*, pag. 11.) must needs be ill men, and worse Guides to Heaven, and have, from their guilt of the *Kings Blood*, indeavoured to reclaim them from following the *Witchcraft* of such dangerous *Principles*, and to bring them home to the Communion of the Loyal and Primitively obedient Church of *England*; I have been amazed to hear, with what confidence they have vindicated their Leaders and Party, from the least share or imputation of the guilt of that Horrid Murder, and averred with as much confidence, that the late *King* was murdered by the Papishes, as they call them, as if it had been true beyond all contradiction.

I have no design, to turn Advocate for the *Romish Religion*, and profess my self to have a most deep detestation and abhorrence for *Sanguinary*, *Traiterous*, *Seditious*, *Disloyal*, and *King-killing*, or deposing Principles, in any Religion or Perswasion whatsoever, and do firmly believe, that, That Religion which holds, justifies, or tolerates such Principles, is so far Erroneous, False, and Damnable: But this being a perfect piece of *Leger-de-main*, purposely calculated to deceive the Common-people into a good opinion of the worst, and most dangerous Enemies of the *Monarchy*, the *Dissenters*, and thereby to enable them still to spread the Venom of their *Principles*, under the Vail of Innocence, and to make this Innocence appear by transferring the Guilt of their former Actions upon others, I think it of so mischievous Consequence, that it ought to be obviated, and the falshood detected and made evident by the Beams of most irrefragable Truth.

And therefore, for ever to silence all these foolish and frivolous *Arts* and *Palliations*, and to take away the Fig-leaves, which these guilty sinners have so Artificially patch'd together, and to shew to the whole World from their Own *Memoirs*, that it was the very real *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and other Sectaries, their Associates, and no other, who were actually guilty of the whole Scene of this horrible Murder of the King.

The Original *Journal* of the whole proceedings of that detestable Murder, and the previous *Trial*, which was drawn up by the Order of the *Regicides*, and presented then

then to the Commons-House, and there publickly read, and approved for a true *Record*, and which is attested under the Hand of *Phelps*, the Clerk to that pretended *High Court of Justice*, having by pure *accident*, shall I call it, or particular *Providence* come to my hands, and having the opportunity to take a true Copy or Transcript of it, I thought my self bound in Conscience, by the Duty which I owe to my *King*, and the Peace and happiness of my Country, to make it publick; that, if it were possible, all true *English-men* might be made sensible of the horrid Guilt and danger of such Men, and such *Principles*, and so far consult their own, and the Interest of their *Posterity*, as to endeavour such a true and *thorough Reformation*, as can only make the present and future Ages happy, which can never be hoped for, so long as the Whoredoms and *Witchcrafts* of this *Painted Jezabel* of the *Old Presbyterian and Independent Cause*, are continued and cherished among us: And most assuredly, it is the Duty of every good Christian and Loyal Subject, to contribute the utmost of his endeavours to suppress the Growth of such dangerous *Principles*, as drive men so furiously headlong, with the pretences of Religion, to the most daring and desperate Extremities of *Treason* and *Rebellion*, and to the very Precipice of *Damnation*.

I do not herein pretend, to exceed the Limits of a private Person, or hereby foolishly to undertake to prescribe Measures to the Government in the Management of this Important Affair; but within my own *Sphere*, I cannot but think my self and all other private Persons, according to their Capacity, Opportunities, and Power, under an indispensable Obligation to oppose and endeavour to stop the Impetuous Torrent of these wicked, bloody, and unpeaceful Opinions and *Principles*, which have once before drowned this Nation in Bloodshed and Misery, and who by their swelling and breaking over all the banks of Law, Duty, and Obedience, threaten us with continual danger and apprehensions of a more cruel and dreadful *Inundation*: and I esteem my self warranted to oppose them, by their Example, since the diligence, assiduity, and restless endeavours, with which they do, to a single man of the Party,

purſue their Ends and Wicked Intereſt, makes it abſolutely the Duty as well as Intereſt of all ſuch as are Loyal, who love their Country, Church, and King, as heartily, unani- mouſly, and zealouſly to make head againſt them, and endeavour to cruſh this Cockatrice in the Egg, which other- wiſe will moſt certainly diſcloſe a fiery flying Serpent. And I cannot ſee any Expedient ſo probable to ſucceed, as the expoſing them naked and ſtripd of their Artificial Trappings, Painting, and Counterfeit *Gems* of Sanctity and Innocence, with which they are wont to impoſe upon the Minds of credulous and eaſie People. I ſhall only therefore bring them to be ſurveyed by the light of Nature, Reaſon, Intereſt, and *Religion*, and that I may do them the moſt Impartial Juſtice, ſhew them to the World in the *Glaſſes* of their own making; and, if there they do not like the Figure and Image which they make, they ought only to quarrel their own deformities, which will not in any Glaſs, except that of their own flattering and falſe *Opinion*, afford them any Shape leſs Monſtrous and Ugly.

And I verily perſwade my ſelf, that were the Common- People of this Nation thoroughly inſtructed by thoſe, whoſe Duty it is to perform that Charitable Office, in the black Conſequences, which neceſſarily, naturally, and unavoidably follow the *Principles* of thoſe Leading Men of the *Se- paration*, and made ſenſible how much they are the En- mies to our Peace and Happineſs, both here and hereaf- ter, even Nature and Humanity would teach Men to abandon them, as the moſt dangerous Cheats and cruel Impoſtors; and they, who now admire the Beauty of theſe *Painted Sepulchres*, the Seditious *Meeting Houſes*, were they aware of the *Devil's* Trap-Doors of Rebellion and *Dam- nation*, which are there planted, would be more cautious of crouding into them: And were it poſſible, as I think it is eaſie, if it were vigorously indeavoured, to convince the deluded *Vulgar*, who have theſe Mens Perſons in ſuch ad- miration, and who are ſo apt to be enchanted with the Songs of theſe bewitching *Syrens*, that under all thoſe fair Words and ſanctimonious Pretences, this Whining about *Gospel Liberty* and Perſecution for Conſcience, this Puking at *decent Ceremonies*, and more decent and beautiful Order and

and Government, this bellowing against *Antichrist*, *Popery*, and *Prelacy*, there is all this while concealed, the Ruine of their Country, the Destruction of the Government, the Subversion of the Laws, Sedition, Tumults, Insurrections, Murder, Fire and Sword, Slavery and Infamy, and at the last *Eternal Damnation*, and endless Torments, certainly they would not only forsake, but detest and abhor those Impostors and Deceivers.

Now all this is as demonstratively true, as to the matter of former Fact, and future Consequence, as God is true and just, and as that is True and Canonical *Scripture*, which from the Mouth of Gods infallible Spirit, assures us, without any Limitation or Reservation, without any Exception or Dispensation, *That whosoever resist the Higher Powers, resist the Ordinance of God, and shall receive to themselves Damnation*. Now, if Rebellion be resisting the Higher Powers, as certainly if that be not, nothing is, and if we be able to prove those of the *Separation*, to a single Man of them, Guilty of it, either in Fact or in Principles, or in Both, then are they certainly within the danger of this Terrible Sentence: Let the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, &c. therefore shew us a Dispensation as Authentick, as this Command, to tolerate Them and their Disciples, to raise Seditions, to defame their *King* and his Government, to cancel the Obligations of the *Oaths* of Allegiance and Supremacy, to condemn the Laws, to disobey the lawful Commands of their Superiors, and at the last, if they have strength and opportunity, to take up Arms and Rebel, and if they prevail to shake off the Yoke of Subjection and due Obedience, Imprison and Murder their *King*, disinherit his Lawful Heirs and Successors, to all which, their Principles have led them, and Naturally and Eternally will lead them; and then indeed they may, as they presumptuously do, promise Heaven to Themselves, and Followers: But till they are able so to do, and to produce a *New Gospel*, with a Patent of Indulgence from *Christ* and his Apostles, to supersede the Obligation of his former Commands, and to change not only the Names but the Nature of things, by turning *Rebellion* into *Religion*, and violating the Laws of God and Man into Obedience,

dience, they will remain under the unavoidable danger of the intolerable Penalty, annexed to Resisting the Higher Powers, and in conclusion, will most assuredly find a *Hell* instead of a *Heaven*, and Damnation in the place of that Happiness, which the *Heads* of the *Separation* do as confidently promise to their *Followers*, as they vainly expect from their *Teachers*.

Whether it have proceeded from mistaken *Charity*, or, which is much worse, from a *Cowardly Timorousness* of falling under the Indignation of the *Dissenters*, and consequently of most severe Revenge, if ever they have power to execute it, I cannot tell; but truly in my Opinion, the not pressing of these necessary Truths upon the People, of the unlawfulness of Rebellion, upon any pretence whatsoever, and their danger of Damnation, in following these Hellish Principles, of Popular Sovereignty, Reformation by Blood, Tumults, and the Power of the Sword, of the Lawfulness of Deposing, Judging, and inflicting Capital Punishments upon Sovereign Princes; and the want of exposing the necessary Consequences of these and such like Fatal Opinions, and shewing them the horrible Influences, they have formerly had upon the Peace and Happiness of the *Nation*, it is to be feared, hath contributed too much to the increase of the Vulgar part of the Faction.

And truly this necessary work is so easie to be done, from plain matters of undeniable Fact, that there need be no recourse to *Rhetorical* Amplifications, or *Hyperbolical* Expressions, to move not only the Passions, but the Reason of all Mankind to the utmost degrees of Hatred and Abhorrence against such dreadful *Principles*: The Treasons, Conspiracies, the Wars, the Rapines, the Hypocrisies, Perjuries, and Sacrileges, the Butcheries, Oppressions, Murders, and those Rivers of Innocent Blood, and, which surpasseth all, the Blood of their King, through which these *Separatists* have waded, to obtain by the Power of Rebellion and the Force of the Sword, an usurped Sovereignty, and unlimited Arbitrary Dominion over the People of these Nations, thereby to render the freest People of the World, the vilest Slaves in the Universe, are certainly such undeniable Truths, which are justly charge-
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able upon them, as are sufficient to set such an Eternal Brand of Infamy upon those, who have been guilty of them, as would render it impossible for them to deceive the People by their other Arts, and pretended *Sanctity*; and truly their making *Religion* stoop to their base Designs, and thereby prostituting that which is most Sacred, to the most unhallowed Actions, and most unparallel'd Wickedness, would be so far from doing them any advantage, that, to all honest, virtuous, and religious Minds, it would make them appear more horrible and odious, because becoming thereby more mischievous and dangerous: for the *Devil*, transformed into the shape of an *Angel* of Light, is no less a *Devil* for his stoln brightness, and the very stealing of that Glorious Shape ought rather to make him be esteemed of the worst sort of those Infernal Spirits, because he only takes it upon him, to be thereby inabled to do the more Mischief to Mankind, and to cheat them out of Happiness, by pretending to make them Happy: And if the Embasing, Washing, and Counterfeiting of Money, be such a deceit, as hath merited Capital Punishment, and hath rendred the Offenders Infamous and Odious to all men, because it robs them of some part of their share of the Riches of this World, how much more Odious and Capital an offence is it, against God and Man, to Embase and Counterfeit *Religion*, and to cheat men of their Souls and Bodies, by stamping the *Impress* and Supercription of *Heaven* upon the *Metal* of *Hell*, and putting off this false Coyn for Good, Current, and Eternal Treasure?

Now let the Dissenting *Separatists* disclaim and disavow this Imposture with never so much Scorn or Confidence, and make the wonted boasts of their Sanctity and Purity, reprobating all others, besides themselves, yet if the Apostle * *St. James* have any Authority with them, let him be the Judge and Umpire of the difference, He affirms that the *Wisdom* (or *Religion*, for *Religion* is the only *Wisdom*), which is from above, is not only *Pure*, but *Peaceable*, *Gentle*, *Easie* to be intreated, full of *Mercy*, and good *Fruits*, * *unturbulent*, and without *Hypocrisie*, and that the *Religion* which produces *Strife*, *Envy*, *Confusion* and

* *St. James* 3.
cap. 15, 16,
17. ver.

* The word *ad-*
diduxit & im-
ports rerum sta-
tus inconfusus
inturbatus, sine
lite.

every evil Work, is so far from being of Divine Original, and descending from above, that it is *earthly, sensual, and devilish*: This is the *Criterion*, the Touch-stone, which we challenge the shining Chymical Religion of the *Separatists* to indure the Assay by, and I am assured, if we must try the truth of their Faith by the standard of their own Works, and this *Apostolical Rule*, it will be utterly impossible for them, to make out their Title to that true Religion, which they do so arrogantly boast of, and so wholly appropriate to Themselves and Party, that though *Heaven* be capacious enough to entertain the Inhabitants of a thousand *Earths*, yet can they not allow one inch to any, besides those of their Perswasion: And 'tis no wonder, if their own narrow Souls perswade them, they are only in the narrow way; but the *Pharisees*, their Predecessors in Principles and Pretensions, were never the nearer to entering into the Glorious Gates of Eternity, for their being so busie in framing Bolts and Locks to exclude all others from entering into those Blessed Regions.

And not to pass over even the Narrow Seas, and there to trace these Turbulent Men and their Principles through all the Paths of Mischief, which they have beaten in Foreign Countries, whereby they have forfeited all Right to St. *James's* Character of the true Religion, which is peaceable, as well as pure; our own dear *England*, our Cities, or Towns, our Villages, our prophaned Temples, and our Holy Altars thrown down as Idolatrous, our blushing Fields, and our bleeding Laws, our gasping Liberty, and expiring Religion, our Estates consumed with Arbitrary Taxes, and heavy Impositions unknown to our generous Ancestors; so many Oppressions, Exactions, Plunder, and Free Quarter, such vast Treasures borrowed upon the Publick Faith, Sequestrations and Compositions exhausted, so many thousand Lives as perished in the late Calamitous Rebellion, the entire subversion of the Government, and the barbarous Murder of a Lawful King, thousands of living Witnesses and Sufferers under the Cruelty and Bondage of their *Usurpation*, nay, their own Authentique Records, Declarations, Protestations, Covenants and Associations, and, which is more than all these, their

their own Consciences are Witnesses before God and the whole World of Men and Angels, that the *ways of Peace are not known to them*, or make any part in the Composition of their Religion; but that, notwithstanding their high Pretensions to Purity, Seditions, Tumults, Insurrections, Treason and Rebellion are the Fruits and Effects, the Consequences and Conclusion of the Separation, which begins with Whining in a *Corventicle* against *Ceremonies* and Persecution for Conscience sake, but in the end advances into the open Field with the loud Arguments of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering Language of the Cannon, and in downright defiance and opposition of Lawful Government and Authority by Arms and Violence, or the baser ways of secret *Treasons* and *Assassinations*.

Had there been indeed but one single Instance of the mischievous and dangerous inclinations of these combined *Factions*, it were sufficient for ever to ruine their Reputation amongst wise and sober minded Men: But they have given so many repeated Testimonies of their hatred of the present Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical, and of a restless, turbulent, and unreclaimable Temper, obstinately resolved upon the first opportunity to Attempt the Subversion and Ruine of them both, that there cannot be the least excuse found out to plead in mitigation of their Crimes: But to all their former Guilt, and the very late disturbances and seditious behaviour of which they have, under the new Denomination of *The True Protestants*, been most notoriously guilty, the detection of this last Execrable *Conspiracy* to take off the most Gracious and Indulgent Prince in the World, and his Illustrious and only Brother the Duke, by the most infamous method of *Assassination*, is such a demonstrative Evidence of their implacable Malice, that they cannot add any thing more Black and Wicked, to render them, till they abandon these Trayterous Principles, most detestable and odious to all Loyal Subjects and good Christians.

The *Faction* indeed stand much upon their *Tiptoes* again, now their first Consternation for the Discovery is over, and because they are not to a single man found upon a Muster-Roll among the infamous *Conspirators*, would from thence

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argue a kind of Innocency in the Party: But let any Person consider, that so great an undertaking, as the Subversion of this well-built Government, and the justifying of such horrid Methods, by which it was to be begun, was never possibly to be effected by a few Heads or Hands; and that there being an absolute necessity to second the first *Blow* by a most considerable Force of Arms, and it will be impossible to doubt, but that the *Conspirators*, though they did not Communicate the Particularities of their *Treasonous Design* to every Individual person, from whom they expected assistance, yet made themselves most assured of assistance, from a Powerful Party, which should joyn with them to perfect their Execrable purposes.

For it is impossible that so many Men, as are known to be of the *Conspiracy*, both by their own Confession, and the Testimony of so many unexceptionable Witnesses, and Circumstances, should all of them by consent become *Ideots* and Madmen, to think of accomplishing such amazing *Treasons* by *Miracles* or the Strength of Imagination; it is true, a small number of such desperate hellish Villains, as were imbarqued in the most wicked Enterprize, might (I am all horror to name it,) with their *Blunderbusses* have Assassinated the *King* and his *Royal Brother*; but it must be a numerous Party, who must have seconded that *Cursed Blow*, so as to inable them to overcome all the succeeding Difficulties and Oppositions, which they could not but foresee they must encounter with, from the *Loyal Party*, who by the *Shaftsbury Association*, and the well known Malice of the *Exclusioners*, which comprehended the whole Faction of the *Dissenters*, would quickly have discovered who were the *Traytors*, and *Murderers* of the *King* and his *Brother*, and would certainly most vigorously have opposed them, and the progress of their Designs of *Usurpation*.

Now from what Quarter of Heaven, or from what Subterranean Caverns must this assistance come? Did they expect any of *Elisha's* Flaming Battalions, or an Army of Aery Combatants? or had they a promise of Forty Thousand *Black Bills*, that would fight without hands, or a Levy of *St. Jago Pilgrims*, to make use of these
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Black-Bills, to defend and support their blacker Cause? They must certainly be all *Lunaticks* indeed and Madmen, if they relyed upon an invisable Power. Nor is it to be doubted, but that, how much soever they would have intituled God to the Cause, as their Ancestors and Predecessors in Rebellion had done, yet, like them, they would not so absolutely have reposed their trust in Him, but that they would wisely have thought, the best of their way was to make use of the Arm of Flesh, and a Sword of Steel, which they knew by experience would prove a better defence than the Shield of Faith, or their pretended Sword of the Spirit, and enable them to settle *Christ* in his Throne (as the *Presbyterians* use to cant it) by disposing the King of His: But besides the *Old Army Officers*, who were to command them, there must be an Army to be commanded; and who could these *Levies* consist of, but the Factious Schismatics and Dissenters, who having lifted themselves under *Separation*, the very Standard of the *Old Cause*, no man in his Senses can doubt, but, had her bloody Colours, wrought with Liberty of Conscience, and *Colledges* Motto, *No Popery, No Slavery*, been once displaid in the Field, whole Troops of Zealous *Volunteers* would, in the Language of their Addreses, have offered their *Lives and Fortunes*, and hazarded their Souls and Bodies in her service, against the Tyranny of *King-ship*, the uselessness and danger of *Peerage*, and the *Antichristianism* of *Prelacy* and *Popery*: *Pentland Hills*, and *Bothwel Bridge* give us good assurance of the Inclinations and Forwardness of these pretended Saints, to take up Arms and propagate the Gospel by the wrong Sword; though if they were not infatuated, even to Perdition, the discovery of their *Treasons*, and the baffling of their repeated attempts against *Gods Vicegerent*, were sufficient to convince them, how disagreeable their Practices, and the Principles which lead them, are to the Divine Majesty and Supreme Monarch of the World.

But that which puts this matter out of all dispute, is the Testimony of their own Consciences. *The Plot*, faith *Walcot*, one of the Conspirators, is laid broad and deep; and *Collonel Sidney* professeth boldly, that he dies a *Martyr*

that *Old Cause*, in which he had from his Youth been trained up: The Dissenters esteem him no less; Now do I appeal to themselves, if they do not think the *Cause*, for which he Glories that he died a *Martyr*, a Righteous Cause? Nay, and Gods Righteous Cause too? If they do not think so, why do they so zealously embrace, and, so far as they may without danger of the Laws, encourage, support, and defend it, by continuing so pertinaciously in their *Separation*, the very Badge and distinguishing *Character* of those, who have devoted themselves to it? Most assuredly, if they did not think so of it, they would for ever abandon it. And if they do think and believe, that it is *Gods Righteous Cause*, they will judge themselves under the most powerful Obligations in the World, upon occasion offered, to be assistant with their Persons or Purse to maintain it, and even to fight the Lords Battels against the Mighty: And were it possible to keep the Two *Devils* of Fear and Dissimulation from jogging their Elbows, and pulling them by the Sleeves, to make them conceal the depth of their Hearts, I do strongly assure my self, that they would boldly tell the World, and proclaim it by the sound of Trumpet and beat of Drum, That they esteem nothing they possess, not their very Lives, too precious, if they may be instrumental in carrying on the Glorious Reformation of the *Old Cause*.

And here are the Dimensions of this late *Conspiracy*, the depth and breadth of the *Plot*, which *Walcot* mentions; which is not one hairs breadth narrower, or one inch shallower, than the united Strength, Power, and Interest of the whole Faction of the *Dissenters*; who would once again have adventured not only Bodkins and Thimbles, Plate, Money, Horses and Arms, but their Lives also, to set up this *Golden Calf* of their *Old Cause*, had not God been more Gracious and Merciful to them and the whole Nation, than to suffer them, by Success in this Wicked Enterprize, to run headlong to our *Ruine*, and their own *Damnation*.

Let it suffice, That all Wise Men know, that the strength of this detestable Conspiracy was built upon no other Foundation, than the Hopes and Confidence, which the
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Traytors had, from some of the Principal of them, of the Assistance, the Vigorous, Unanimous Assistance of the *Disfenters*; and that all Good, Honest, and Loyal men believe it; nay, that they who seem most to dispute or doubt it, are conscious to themselves of their own good wishes, not only to the Principal *Traytors*, but even to the *Treason*; and since it is well known they have long ago abandoned all shame for such Imputations, nothing but the disappointment of their hopes and expectations, could be the Cause of that Universal damp, consternation, amazement, and dejection which were so visibly painted in their Faces, that one might know them by those Marks from other men, as they walk't the Streets: And though they are something recovered out of the trance of their Sorrows, and have reassumed some part of their wonted courage and confidence, yet even that courage betrays their guilt, whilst they wholly imploy it to discredit all belief of the truth of this *Conspiracy*: And it is almost impossible, to give a more infallible Demonstration for the certainty of any thing in this World than for this, and that they must of necessity be in some sort or other Guilty themselves, who Ridicule, Extenuate, Palliate, Applaud, Justifie, and use all the Arts imaginable, not only to make their Party appear Innocent, but to make the whole *Plot* an Artifice and a Contrivance, and to arraign the Supreme Power and the Justice of the Nation as Guilty, by the Condemnation and Execution of the Principal *Traytors* and Accomplices in the *Treason*: And certainly they have no thoughts of abhorrence and detestation of such black and execrable Villanies, nor any intentions to abandon them, who do so warmly hugg and cherish the only Cause of this, and so many other Treasons, Plots, and Conspiracies both against the late *King* and his present *Majestie*, their wicked Principle of Separation, which is the Mother of all those Seditions, Insurrections, and Rebellions, which to their cost these Nations have so often felt.

For when Men have once separated themselves from the *Ecclesiastical*, they do at the same instant cut the Cords and Ligaments of Obedience to the Civil Govern-

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ment; they, by usurping Sovereign Power to dispense with the Obligation of any one Law, bid open defiance to the very Essence of all Laws, and, without the consent of *King, Lords, and Commons*, undertake to Abrogate, Repeal, and make not only void, but unlawful, and unjust, and intolerable such *Acts of Parliament*, as were by the Common Consent of the *King* and the Three Estates of the Realm, Enacted to retain the Subjects in their due Obedience, and cannot without shocking the very Foundations of the Government be cancelled by any other Authority, than that which at first gave them being: So that they are in actual Rebellion even at the first step, though not in actual Arms, and open Hostility, against the *King*, the Laws, and the very Constitution and Life of the Government, which consists in the Power and Authority of making Laws, and exacting Obedience to them: Now this disobedience to the Laws, and thereby disowning the Authority which made them, naturally leads the transgressors to fear the Penalties of those Laws which they have violated, and to dread the threatening edge of the Sword of Justice, the *Guardian* of those Laws, with which the Supreme Magistrate is by God intrusted, to punish the Disobedient, and preserve the Peace and Tranquillity of Human Society; Now Fear is only so much the Elder Brother of Hatred, as *Esau* was to *Jacob*, that smooth *Supplanter*, ever lays hold of the Heel of its hairy Brother; and when men are once advanced to hate what they fear, they do immediately proceed to wish, desire, and endeavour to put themselves out of the reach of danger, from what they both fear and hate. When these two Passions thus adopted into the Family of Religion, have once taken full possession of Mens Minds, it is not long before they Precipitate them into the Search of all Ways and Contrivances how to secure themselves; which because they cannot immediately obtain, they presently fall to accusing the Laws of Injustice, and the Magistrates of *Tyranny and Persecution*, that so their disobedience may find a Refuge under the shelter of their pretended Innocence, for which they can have no other Foundation, but the Charging the Laws themselves with want of Equity and

and Justice : Nor is the Government only to be thus accused as unrighteous, and despised as unjust; and obedience to its Laws renounced as unlawful, but their fear and hatred put them upon all the Out-side Acts of Hypocritical Piety, and dissembled Sanctity, that by them they may win both Pity and gain a Party, and so intrench themselves in the Fortifications of Numbers, hoping for Impunity, at least from the Multitude of Offenders, which when they have gained, they are not sparing of their secret Menaces, how unsafe it may be to Exasperate, and how Impolitique for the Government, by compelling them to Obedience, to force them to extremities. No sooner have they gained this Point, and that they apprehend that the Scale is turned, and that the Government, of which they before stood in so much Fear, begins now justly to be in fear of them, but they presently become Insolent in their Actions, Seditious in their words, Frequent in open Menaces, and *Bold Petitioners* to their *Prince* for such Favours and Indulgences, as they are well assured, if he grants, he must be ruined, and if he denies, they are resolved to endeavour by Force to extort them from him, and the Sum of all their Desires at the last centring in their being intrusted with the *Power* of the *Sword*, the difference at last comes to fall under the Fatal Decision and Arbitrement of the *Sword*. And how matters must be managed, when they come to that dismal Period, and are referred to the determination of that *Umpire*, I think little need to be said, and it is yet too fresh in memory, to be again repeated; most certainly War, and especially a Civil War, can never go unattended by the calamitous *Legions* of Misery, Ruine, Oppression, Murder, Desolations, and all the Licentious Mischiefs, which the Rude and Mercenary Spirits, of which the Inferior Military Men are always composed, can be guilty of.

This is the Rare texture of the Spiders Web of *Separation*, in the *Centre* whereof the Devil of Rebellion sits Enthroned, and though the out-lines of the Circumference seem all composed of Innocence, Purity, and Reformation, yet when once men come but to touch and

buzz about the smallest Cords of this Fatal Net, like foolish Flies they are intangled and caught, and the farther they proceed, and the more they strive, the more are they wrapped and inclosed in the Snares of the Devil.

Thus does *Separation* begin with mistaken Zeal for Religion, which by easie steps insensibly transports men to defend one Errour by a thousand, and to commit the most horrid impieties and most dreadful sins, to support and maintain that, which they call their Religion: Thus have we seen the Tears of the Widows, and heard the Cries of the Orphans, robbed of their Husbands, Parents, and Estates, for the *Glory of God*: We have heard the groaning of the Prisoners, and those appointed to die; we have seen so many Loyal Free-Subjects, without and against Law, Reason, and Humanity, brought to Axes, Gibbets, and Halters, and all pretended to be done for *God's Righteous Cause and Glory*: Robbing of Churches, and defacing of Temples, Crimes which Heathen *Idolaters* would have blush'd at, were all for the *Glory of God too*, and the Honour of his Cause. Nay, there is scarce that horrible kind of Impiety, Blasphemy, or any sort of Wickedness to be named, which was not committed during the late Rebellion under this Pretence; and the most barbarous and inhumane Outrages, which the afflicted *Royalists* suffered from these pretended *Saints*, are so great and many, as it is impossible to recount them, all which were so far from being punished by the *Usurping Powers*, that they were encouraged, applauded, justified, and rewarded as acceptable Services to *God* and the *Parliament*; Even Cruelty was become so great a Virtue, that it was one of the choicest subjects of Discourse, and with which the *Boanergeses* of the Faction were wont from the suffering Pulpit to entertain the People, and Prophane the Temples of the *God of Peace*, with Exhortations to War and Blood. Well might the *God of Peace and Purity* send that dismal Fire of *London* to purge those *Temples*, whose Beams and Stones had been so tainted by the Leprous breath of *Rebellious Preachers*, that no whiting or scraping, according to the *Mosaick Method* of cleansing Leprous Houses, was sufficient to cleanse them, so as to be fit for the offering up of the Sacrifices of Prayers

Prayers and Praises to the everlasting *Prince* of Peace, or to have the *Holy Dove*, condescend to dwell among men, and assist their Devotions in those *Holy Places*.

And that I may not seem falsely to accuse them, I will give two or three Instances of this *Bloody Divinity*; though I could produce a thousand, and they who delight to paddle among such *Bloody Tenents*, may be sufficiently furnished out of the Printed Sermons of the late Times, a considerable Collection of which may with little pains be seen in my very Excellent Friend, the *Malleus Schismaticorum*, Mr. *L'Estranges* first and second Books of *Dissenters Sayings*, under the Heads of *Reformation by Blood*, and *The War Justified*, &c.

Cut down the Malignants, (so was the Royal Party named) with the Sword of Justice, Root them out, and consume them with Fire, that no root may spring again. (*Walker's Sermon, Jan. 29. 1644.*) If the Devil himself had fill'd the Pulpit, that Old *Walker*, who like a Roaring Lion goes to and fro seeking whom he may devour, could not certainly in fewer words have expressed more Comprehensive Cruelty, or a more Barbarous Thirst after Humane Blood.

But you shall hear another. There is no dallying with God now, saith *Case*, much delay hath been used already, too much; God is angry, and he seems to ask this once more, *Will you strike? Will you execute Judgment, or will you not? Tell me; for if you will not, I will: I will have the Enemies Blood, and yours too, if you will not execute Vengeance upon Delinquents, for the Day of Vengeance is in my heart, and the year of my Redeemed is come, Isa 63.* (*Case, before the Commons, 1644.*) Never could the Lipsure of any, who pretended to fear the *Divinity* which they ador'd, except a *Presbyterian's*, dare to affront him by such a positive, audacious, and blasphemous *Prosopopeia*; herein shewing himself a false Prophet by putting on his Horns of Iron, and pushing on every side of him for Blood and Slaughter; never did any wretched and uninspired Mortal so presumptuously and peremptorily undertake to speak the Sovereign will and pleasure of the Merciful Creator, as this bold *Schismatick* does in this most
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sanguinary Decree, as if he had been admitted into the Cabinet Council with the Almighty, and had not only out-gon St. Paul who travelled to the Third Heavens, but had received a more ample Commission, than that *Apostle*, to relate, what the other tells us, 2 Cor. Cap. 12. Ver. 4. *was unspeakable and not lawful for a Man to utter*: But God be praised, who hath assured us by the Mouths of his *Inspired Servants*, the *Prophets*, that he hath no Pleasure in the Death of his Enemies, as this false Prophet would have us believe; and hereby we may easily discover, that it was he, who was a Murderer from the beginning, who inspired them with these Bloody *Doctrines*, and this Method of abusing *Scripture*, at which we know he has a most notable Talent.

But if any Person desire to see a Summary of the sanguinary desires of the *Separatists*, he may consult a Pamphlet Intituled, *Justices Plea*, Printed and Published August, 1st. 1644, of which this is the Abridgment.

The Cruel Miscreant addresses himself to the *Assembly of Divines*, (and by that, he should be a Presbyterian) and vehemently exhorts them to move the High and Honorable Court of *Parliament*, that Justice may be speedily and severely Executed upon all the most Disloyal and Treacherous Enemies of the Kingdom.

For, saith he, One, if not the main, provoking Cause of all our Miseries, is that Wrath-provoking Sin of Impunity, and not Executing Justice and deserved Punishment upon Eminent Offenders and Malefactors amongst us. Then he falls upon quoting and misapplying *Scripture*, and the History of *Achan*, *Joshua 7th*, and from thence proceeds to charge the Blood of *Bohemia*, the *Palatinate*, *Rochel*, the Isle of *Rhee*, *Ireland* and *England*, upon the *King* and *Loyal Party*, whom according to the *Presbyterian Rhetorick* he Styles *Papists*, *Atheists*, *Pontificians*, and *Malignants* of all Sorts and Sexes; and, adds he, some of them are put into our Hands as so many devoted *Achans*, accursed ones, yet of all of them, but one Capital Offender, except some Inferiour ones, Three in *London*, and as many at *Bristol*, brought by our Renowned *Joshua's* (meaning the Faction of the Two Houses) to deserved Death and Destruction. (P. 1.)

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The Remedy, saith he, of *England's* Malady, which is a *State Gangrene*, is the serious, zealous, and un pitying Execution of Justice upon the said Malefactors, and by no means out of Pretence of sinful Pity or Partiality to spare the Lives of any, whom God hath thus appointed to Death.

And this he endeavours to prove to be a Duty, first, from Precepts, *Gen. Cap. 9. Ver. 6. Whosoever sheddeth Mans Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.* This is a general Rule, saith he, and, from one end of the *Bible* to the other, admits of no Exception either of Princes or Peasants, Noble or Ignoble. (So that here you see is a Fatal Blow directly levell'd at the Kings Neck by the *Presbyterian* Doctrine, though the *Independents* robb'd them of the power of putting it in practice) but he goes forward, leaving the impressions of his Cloven-footed Tutor upon every step he takes, and falls with him to his *Scriptum est*, quoting *1 Sam. Chap. 15. Ver. 2, 3. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, I remember that which Amaleck did to Israel, how he laid wait for him in the Way, when he came up from Egypt. Now go, and smite Amaleck, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not, but slay both Man and Woman, Infant and Suckling, Oxe and Sheep, Camel and Ass.* (The Royalists were the *Amalekites*, and the most Religious King in the World was, in *Presbyterian* Dialect, *Agag*; and this was the Doom, to which they were adjudged by these pretended Saints, and that too as peremptorily, as if God had told them his Will by immediate Revelation, as he did to *Samuel*, and had declared the King and his Loyal Subjects his unpardonable Enemies, and as Wicked Idolaters, as were the *Amalekites*, and their King *Agag*.) But the killing Blow was alway that passage, *Revelations Chap. 18. Ver. 6. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works, in the Cup which she hath filled, fill to her double*; and then to be sure they came to the dashing out the Brains of the *Babylonish Brats*, the *Cavaleers*, against the Stones. Lastly, adds he, that of the Prophet *Jeremy*, which I most humbly and heartily desire all our Grave and Godly Parliamentary Worthies should be most often and extraordinarily minded of, *Jer. Chap. 48.*

ver. 10. *Cursed be he, that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and Cursed be he, that keepeth back his Sword from Blood.* Here's a Precept, cries out this Son of the *Horseleech*, with a witness indeed, a Precept under no less than a Curse, yea an ingeminated Curse, to shew the certainty and severity of Gods displeasure in the neglect of it; yea we see, it is called a dealing deceitfully with God and Men, to do it slightly, much more not to do it at all; the Lord give those, whom it most nearly concerns, care and conscience timely and truly to set upon it. (Page 3.)

But lest the Authority of perverted *Scripture-Precepts* should not be sufficient to stimulate and instigate the Heads of the Faction to so much Cruelty, and so many indiscriminating premeditated Murders, he proceeds to furnish *Presidents* to fortifie his bloody Doctrine; and first, saith he affirmatively, *Phineas* Executed Judgment on *Zimri and Cozbi*. Upon which Text, adds he, as Reverend and Mellifluous Mr. *Marshall* in his Sermon observes, That one man, by his Holy Zeal, may be a means to save a whole Kingdom; how much more then a whole *Parliament*, punishing Offenders in a Legal way by the Rule of Justice. Then he produces *Jehu*, Executing Vengeance upon *Joram* and *Abaziah*, two Kings, and slaying the seventy Sons of *Ahab*, and the two and forty Brethren of *Abaziah* King of *Judah*. 2 *Kings* Chap. 9 and 10.

From *Positive* he proceeds to *Negative* Presidents, as he calls them, to shew that God was displeased for neglecting Executing Vengeance upon Capital Offenders; instancing in the Quarrel between the *Benjamites* and *Israelites*, *Judges* Chap 20th. the whole Chapter being, as he saith, the very Case of *England*; comparing the King and his Party to the wicked *Benjamites*, who had committed and justified that inhumane Rape upon the *Levites* Concubine, and the *Parliament* and Faction to the true *Israelites*. Then he tells you the story of *Ahab's* permitting *Benhadad* to escape, 1 *Kings* Chap 20. ver. 42. And he said unto him, thus saith the Lord, because thou hast let go out of thy hands a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy Life shall go for his Life, and thy People for his People. Then he instances in *Saul's* forfeiting his

his Kingdom for sparing *Agag*, King of the *Amalekites*, 1 *Sam.* Chap. 15. Ver. 23. *Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath rejected thee from being King.* (A strong push for Deposing and Murdering the King, as being rejected of God, as *Saul* was.)

But in regard this was addressed to People, who had Pretended most wonderful tenderness of *Conscience*, lest there should be any remains of that, he comes now to hardning of them by answering an Objection.

Obj. What is all this to us of the *Ministry*?

Answ. It concerns you all very much, and you also in the first place, even You, *Reverend Gentlemen*: Such as are Arch-Enemies to God and his most *Righteous Cause*, who have suck'd the Blood of Gods precious Ones, are now held in Prison among us; they are only imprisoned, but some only pinch'd in their Purfes and set at Liberty, at least from danger of Death: And this I say, nay God says, Justice is grievously neglected, and the just Wrath of God highly incensed and exasperated against us for the same. Now you, *Reverend Gentlemen*, are *Sentinels* and *Watchmen*, *Ezek.* Chap. 3. Ver. 7. and Chap. 33. Ver. 7, 8. And you are to give timely and serious warning to the Superior Magistrates, *Esa.* Chap. 58. Ver. 1. *Cry aloud, spare not, lift up your voices like Trumpets*, to Advise, Preach, Petition to purpose, our most Noble and Honorable *Parliamentary Worthies*, to put in serious, zealous, and speedy Execution, this God-pleasing, Wrath-appeasing Work of Severity, and exactly punishing all Grand Offenders, and Arch-Adversaries of God and the Kingdom, whosoever they be.

Then he reminds them, that Justice was done on the Earl of *Strafford* by the City of *London's* means, who, about two years since, with an Unanimous and Zealous consent Assembled gravely and advisedly together, and in a sober and substantial manner by their most humble Petition, craving and crying out for Justice against that pernicious *Traytor*, and Cruel Crafty Enemy of the State, the Earl of *Strafford*, accordingly obtained the thing desired.

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And now he comes to intitle *God* to this *Bloody Divinity*, and, as if he had adored some of the inhumane *Idols* of the *Pagans*, to bespeak *Hecatombs* of Humane Sacrifices to honor and serve him with: Say, saith he, What Honor and Dignity hath been done to God for all the late Victories? Much by the Parliament; but whatever hath been, all is too little; and therefore some Extraordinary and Eminent Work, tending to the High Honour of the Lord, our most glorious wonder-working God; nothing like destroying those *Achans* and *Agags*, whether Great by Place, or Noble by Birth.

But then again, his almost smothered *Conscience* gets a little breath to cross his sanguinary *Divinity* with an Objection, whilst he stops her Cries with an impertinent and shuffling Answer.

Obj. But what, saith he? Nothing but Blood and Cruelty? Make the *Parliament* a *Parliament* of Blood? May not Mercy be as Honourable, as thus fiercely shedding Blood?

Ans. I, or rather Gods Word saith, Who art thou that darest call that Act Bloody, which God himself calls Justice and Judgment, and wherein God is so delighted. Secondly, I say not all, but as the Prophet *Jeremy*, Chap. 15. Ver. 2. Thus saith the Lord, such as are for Death to Death; and such as are for the Sword to the Sword, and such as are for the Famine to the Famine, and such as are for the Captivity to the Captivity. (So that you see, the tender Mercies of a *Presbyterian* are Cruelty, and the Merciful *Schismatick* is not altogether for Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering; no, good Man! he is only for Sword, Famine, and Captivity, for some of them; and I dare say, had the abused Text had Plague, Fire, and Water in it, the Compassionate Creature would graciously have condescended to spare the *Malignants* from Death, to have Committed them to those other lingring Punishments: But here's no Quarter to be given, not one grain of Mercy to be found in his Heart, no Pardon to be had or hoped, and, in the Battel of *Presbyterian* Vengeance, none are like to escape.)

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But now he comes to wind up his Bloody Bottoms, and concludes, That this Advice is given in singleness and sincerity of heart, for that he may say with *David*, *What have I done, is there not a Cause?*

Here is the very Heart, the Soul, the Conscience of a *True Protestant Schismatick*, and indeed the very Spirit of *Separation* laid naked and open to the view of all Mankind. Here's a Window into the very Bosome of the Faction; where one may see Revenge and Cruelty, Malice and Murder, Hatred of Monarchy, and Contempt of Kings, and ten thousand other Impieties lodged in every corner of his breast. How would these Cruel People now like the *Lex Talionis*, *Adonibezek's Law*, not only to have their Toes and Thumbs cut off, but, according to their own Divinity, since they are most manifestly Guilty of what they falsely accuse the Loyal Party, to be Condemned to all the Severities, which they have so uncompassionately allotted to others: But they are out of that danger, our Religion teaches us a far different *Temper*, and would they give the Government any tolerable assurance, that it were possible for them to be peaceable, and forbear pulling the Penalties of the Laws, made for its security, upon their own Heads, they might grow old, and go in quiet to their own, if they would let others hope to do so to their *Graves*.

I will add but one Instance more, and that shall be of *Mr. Love*, whose unpeaceful Zeal was one great occasion of the breaking off the *Uxbridge Treaty*, by which means so many thousands of poor Souls were sent in the succeeding Wars, to Untimely and Bloody Deaths.

Men, saith he, *who lye under the Guilt of much Innocent Blood are not meet persons to be at Peace with, till all the Guilt of the Blood be expiated and avenged, either by the Sword of the Law, or the Law of the Sword. 'Tis the Sword, not Disputes and Treaties, that must end this Controversie; (just point blank contrary to the Text, which is exactly according to the Presbyterian Divinity). Wherefore turn your Plow-shares into Swords, and your Pruning-books into Spears, to fight the Lords Battels, to avenge the Blood of Saints, which hath been spilt; it must be avenged either by us, or upon us. (Loves Sermon at Uxbridge Treaty, 1644.)*

And so it happened; *Providence* it seems taking him at his Word; and some part of that Innocent Blood, which was shed by his incitement, being by those of his own Party, according to his *Oraculous*, tho' otherwise intended, Prediction, avenged upon himself; which because it fell out by a very uncommon accident, and known to very few, *Providence* seeming to interpose between him and a Pardon, which was intended for him, and to shew us, that *vir sanguinum non dimidiabit dies suos*, Blood-thirsty Men shall not live out half their Days, I think it will not here be impertinent to my Design, or unprofitable either to the present or future Times, to make publick the *Relation* of it, which I had from the Mouth of a very Loyal, Worthy, and Credible Person; which was thus.

That the *Independents*, after the Murder of the *King*, having made themselves absolute *Conquerors*, and Masters of the Sword, and thereby snatched the Lawrels of Victory from the *Presbyterian* Brows, who had, together with them, born the heat and burthen of the Day, and sweat so hard in the *Common Cause*; and that they had now every where crushed their fair hopes of Erecting their rigorous *Discipline* in the Establishment of a National Church-Government, according to the *Geneva* and *Scottish* Model, so that the Sneaking *Presbyterians* were even forced to content themselves with a bare *Toleration*, being every hour affronted by the Huffing *Independents*, and every moment menaced with Ruine, by taking away the burthen of Tithes, the maintenance of their Cause and Ministers; they began to consult which way to retrieve themselves from those desperate Events, which seemed, like black Clouds, to hang over their Heads, ready to discharge themselves and all their Storms and Thunder upon them. And seeing no way more probable, than to follow the Example of their *Dear Brethren* of *Scotland*, they cast their thoughts upon a *Treaty* with the *King*, then in Exile; but that this was out of pure kindness to themselves, and not in the least to the *King* or his Interest, it is most evident, both because they utterly refused therein to joyn with the Loyal Party, and that even Mr. Love himself, with his latest Breath upon the Scaffold, assures us,
That

The INTRODUCTION. XXXVII

That it was true, he did oppose in his Place and Calling, the Forces and Tyranny of the late King ; and, were he alive again, saith he, and should I live longer, (the Cause being as then it was) I should oppose him longer.

The Crafty *Independents*, whose jealousie of the *Presbyterian* Interest and Power made fearful of them, and those fears vigilant, having their Spies, Emissaries, Informers, and Intelligencers in every Corner, even in the Kings Court, during his Exile, quickly got the scent of this *Presbyterian Intrigue* ; and *Love*, as a Principal Man of the Presbyterian Faction, being most zealous and forward, and, by reason of his precipitate boiling temper of Spirit, less circumspect and cautious, was immediately Discovered, Apprehended, Tryed, Convicted, and Condemned for this *High Treason* against the State.

But he being the *Minion* of the *Presbyterians*, and they considering, what a wound of Infamy it would give to their, even expiring, Reputation thorow the whole Nation, if he should die for this Crime of supposed *Loyalty*, therefore extraordinary Intercessions and Applications were made to the *Commons*, then Styled *The Supreme Authority of the Nation*, for his Deliverance ; all his faithful Zeal and memorable Services in former Times were recounted, and the danger of disobliging and losing the *Presbyterian* Interest and Kindness ; and how hazardous it might be to the Common-wealth, not yet well settled, if, by such severities, the *Presbyterians* should be provoked to joyn with the *Malignant Party*, were among other Sollicitations represented and insinuated to the *Grandees* of the *Independent Party*. But this *Supreme Authority of the Nation* having now struck their Top-sail to *Cromwel*, who wore the Flag of Sovereignty, even over this goodly *Supreme Authority*, till such time as they had sent a dispatch to their Great *Dictator Oliver*, to consult his Sovereign Will, and to know from his Lips, upon which all Mens Destinies now depended, their *Supremeships* at *Westminster* durst not condescend to give *Love* a Pardon for his Life, only Execution was respited for some little time.

Cromwel, being then absent in *Scotland*, upon the Receipt of this Account from the *Slaves*, whom he was pleased to

call his *Masters*, having taken the matter into his grave Deliberation, returns his Answer in a private Letter to one of his Confidants, but I cannot positively charge my Memory, whether *Scot* or *Martin*; and therein, according to his Politicks, considering, that at present his hands were full, and fearing, lest the *English Presbyterians* should rise at his back, and joyn with the *Scottish Kirk-Party*, with whom he was now engaged, he graciously Condescends, that *Love* should be for a considerable time Reprieved, and, upon good Security from Him and his Party of their future behaviour, Pardoned.

Now by what Impulse or Direction God only knows, two or three *Gentlemen*, who had formerly been of the *Kings Army*, happening to travel the *Northern Road*, and meeting the *Post*, who, among others, was charged with this Letter, and inquiring of him, Whether he had; any *Scotch Letters*, to which he innocently replied, He had; a Curiosity seized their Imagination to peep into the Secrets of the *Usurping Powers*; and therefore taking the *Post* aside out of the High Road, into a convenient place, and opening his *Male*, they took out and opened the *Scottish Pacquet*, and, among others, this of *Cromwells*, which carried a Warrant for a Reprieve for *Love*; upon the reading of which, one of them immediately cried out, *Oh! that is the Rogue, that ruin'd us, by breaking off the Treaty at Uxbridge*; and thereupon putting that Letter in his pocket, they restored the rest to the *Post*, telling him, there were his Letters again, and immediately mounting, and putting Spurs to their Horses, they pursued their intended Journey.

The Pacquet arriving at *London*, and several Letters from *Cromwel* to diverse Persons, without one single Syllable concerning *Love*, the Party took it for granted, that this Silence was intended as an absolute Denial: And therefore, not daring to draw upon themselves the high displeasure of *Cromwel*, either by a second Importunity to save him, or by a Delay of Execution, in a few days after the Warrant for his dispatch into the other World was signed, and he, who had been instrumental in bringing so many Noble Heads, and even the *Kings*, to that Infamous and Untimely Death, had himself the Honour of the Axe, and to have

have the blood of so many Innocents, as was shed by his Party, avenged upon himself, according to his Sanguinary and Prophetick Divinity.

But, while my Pen runs in this full Carreer against these Cruel and Sanguinary *Principles*, it is more than probable, that the usual Courtesie of the *Faction* will bestow the Title of a bloody-minded *Persecutor* upon me; and that the intent of this Exposure of their Positions is designed purposely to Expose their Persons to the Hatred and severest Punishments of the Laws and Government. Now though, while I keep my self to the strictest Rules of Truth, I should little value the worst of their Imputations, yet considering, that they are wont to extend their Calumnies from single Persons to the whole *Order* of our *Church*, I have too much Duty and Tenderness, for the Reputation of that Glorious and truly *Apostolical* Church, whereof I esteem it my greatest Honour to be one of her meanest Servants, to suffer the least Spot, through my willing default, to sully her Beauteous Face: I must therefore make my most Solemn *Protestation*, that, as I have not the least Animosity to any Mans Person, so I have not the least Inclination that prompts me to any kind of Cruelty; nay, it is my perfect abhorrence of Blood and Cruelty, that compels me for the Satisfaction of the Importunities of my own Conscience, to use my utmost Industry to prevent the effusion of Humane Blood. It is to prevent the growth of these Fatal *Principles*, which, if not in time suppressed and subdued, threaten again to break out among us, and open the Veins of these Miserable *Nations*: It is because I would with my utmost Power hinder these deluded people, who become distracted with the Raving Poison of such Divinity, either from Executing their Bloody Treasons and Malice upon others, or running themselves to Execution upon the Sword of *Justice*. It is against the Immortal mischief of the *Principles*, and not the Mortal Lives of the deluded *Professors* of them, that I level all my blows; and that our Grand-Children may learn Wisdom from our harms and dangers; and know how to distinguish by their Fruits the Cedar Government of *Monarchy*, from the Bramble Government of *Faction* and *Usurpation*; that

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they

Revel. Chap. 2.
ver. 9.

St. Jude. ver.
13.

they may know the true difference between the truly *Apostolical*, Loyal, and Obedient Church of *England*, and those false Schismaticks, who call themselves *True Protestants*; but are of the *Synagogue of Satan*: That they may understand the difference betwixt those Glorious Stars, the Angels of the Churches, the *Bishops*, which are for ever fixed in the powerful Right-hand of the Son of God, and those New Lights, unfixed Meteors, wandring Stars, for whom, St. *Jude* tells us, *is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.*

As for Exasperating the Government against them, as it is not my design, and, that I address my whole discourse by way of *Caution* to private Persons; so they ought rather to accuse their own Actions and not my Words, if the *Government* be justly Exasperated against them. And indeed, as it would be a very foolish Presumption in me, to pretend to advice, so it would be a superfluous Vanity to go about to exasperate the Government, since it is most certain the Government knows them sufficiently already, and if the Tongues and Pens of all mankind were for ever silenced, their own Mouths, Pens, Words and Actions never cease to make *Proclamations* against themselves, and to provoke the Government, even at no less Peril, than not only its *Well-being*, but its very *Being*, to take such Effectual Care of them, as to secure the *Monarch* and *Monarchy*, the Church and *Apostolical Hierarchy*, from the continual Attempts of their unwearied Practices both secret and open against them. And it is a Duty, which not only the Government owes it self by the most Primitive and Innate Law of *Self-Preservation*, but it is bound by all the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, and by all the Obligations, both Divine and Humane, by the strongest Reasons of Wisdom and Interest, to protect and defend the Loyal, Dutiful, Peaceable, and Obedient Subjects, against the wicked Designs of the Seditious, Unruly, and Rebellious. And, as every Good man may modestly challenge this Protection from the *Government*, so ought every Honest Man heartily to lend his best assistance towards the Support of that Power, from which he expects Protection, by detecting the Designs,

signs, exposing the Artifices, and weakning the Force of its implacable Enemies, and such our *Separatists* have proved themselves sufficiently to be, had there been no other Pens, but their own, imployed against them.

And because the whole World, to whose hands these *Papers* shall come, shall witness for me, that I have Treated them at a far more temperate Rate, than these Brethren in Iniquity have treated each other in their mutual Quarrels, in their Censures, and exposing each others destructive Principles: And that, if they find themselves pierced through the very heart of their *Reputation*, they may, with the *Eagle* in the *Fable*, perceive, that the Arrow, from which they received their Mortal wound, is feathered from their own Wings; I will present the Reader with a *Dialogue*, taken out of their own Writings, and in their own proper *Language*, which possibly may not be indivertive, and, I hope, not unuseful or unserviceable to the design of Exposing, and, if possible, Exploding these Wicked, Turbulent, and Factious Opinions out of the Minds of Mankind.

And that it may be known which are their Words, and what is only inserted to reduce it into the form of a Familiar discourse, those Expressions, which serve only to tack it together, are printed in *Italick*, the other in the ordinary *Roman Letter*.

Independent. *Here's a stir indeed! What a bustle do these Presbyterians make for Reformation of Church-Government? We must put in An Humble Supplication to the King and Parliament, in opposition to these Motions of the Presbyterians for a Reformation. (Independents Petition, Printed at Amsterdam. 1641.)*

Presbyterian. *And what art thou?*

Independent. *A poor Suppliant of the Congregational way, who am come, with some others of our Church, to present our Humble Petition to the King and Parliament, for some Liberty and Indulgence to be shewed to the Tender Consciences of our Gathered Churches.*

Presbyt. *What? An Independent! A Brownist, a Separatist, I warrant you; None else would oppose this glorious Reformation and Endeavour to set Christ upon his Throne.*

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Indep.

Indep. Good Sir! be not scandalized at the Name or the Thing. We are for the purity of the Gospel, according to the Pattern in the Mount.

Presbyt. Oh! You are one of that new-born Bastard Sect of Independency, which is nothing but a Confounding Ataxy, Rent upon Rent, and a Schisme of Schismes, until all Church Community be torn into Atomes; every three Men (nay every three Women, among you) dissociating themselves into an ἐδελθησκειαν, a Will-Worship of their own devising, which fondly and madly you call a Church. But where, I pray, and in what corner of the world, hath this æry Independency been asleep until these days? Quo consule? Under what Kings Reign was it born? Where may I hear, that it hath a being? Where may I read, (below the World in the Moon) that ever it had a being? I will be bold to brand it with the name of a new-minted Seminary for all Self-Pride, Heresie, Schisme, Sedition, and for all Libertinisme: An Outside seeming Saintship, a Pestilence to all Government, except a Traiterous and clouted Anarchy. (Sir Edward Deerings Speeches, Page 82. Sect. 2.)

Indep. I perceive, Sir, your Worship is a member of the most Honourable House of Commons, and, I hope, you will entertain a better Opinion of your weak Brethren, whose Tender Consciences cannot come up to all your Heights.

Presbyt. Never, Never, I assure you. Independency! Why it is a Genus Generalissimum of all Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Schismes; compounded of, first, a Jew, arrogating to be, with them, the peculiar People of God: Secondly, Christian, in acknowledging the Scriptures, some of them at least, tho' Pharisees themselves, and Publishing all the World, whereas True Religion is like Jacobs Ladder, *Stat pede in terris, caput inter nubila condit*. Thirdly, Turk, submitting all to the Fate and Power of the Sword, Religion, Laws, and Liberty, that Idol of the People. (Walkers History of Independency, at the beginning.)

Independ. Good your Worship, what ever you think of us, be pleased according to the trust reposed in you, as one of our Representatives, to deliver our Petition to the House, where I hope we have many Friends; you know there hath passed a
Vote

Vote of the Commons of England for it, and I hope you have too much Honour for that Body to deny that Request.

Presbyt. I know indeed very well, that your Schismatical Party hath been so Clamorous with Petitions, that a Vote was passed in your Favour, That it is the undoubted Right of Subjects to Petition, and afterwards to acquiesce in the Wisdom and Justice of the two Houses. (*Hist. of Indep.*)

Indep. Upon the Foundation of that undoubted Right it is, that we Address our selves to that Honourable Assembly. And you will see by the contents of our Petition, that it is time for us to stir, and that we have reason to complain. For as to the Motions of the *Presbyterians* for Reformation in Church Government, in the whole, *First*, there is much Self-seeking; for to what end is it motioned, to have Parish-Ministers raised up to an equal Height (as it were) of Power, and Authority with the Bishops, but that They and the Bishops together, keeping from the people their Rights and Liberties in the Gospel, may equally Lord it, and do what they please without control? But our hope is, that the Parliament, being Men in whom the Lord hath put Wisdom and Understanding, will for their Brethren and Companions sake, yea, and for their own Souls sakes too, prudently foresee the Evil, and prevent the Motion, and not put Authority into their hands, who will be, if they have it, as great Persecutors of the Saints, as the *Prelates* formerly have been, and so instead of one Lordly Domineering Bishop in a Diocese, we shall then have one in every Parish, and in some more, to oppress and suppress all such as walk up to their Light more Closely and Conscionably in all Gods ways; and what we speak, we speak no more than what we have had woful Experience of, and can make good by Proof. But in the next place, we cannot but take notice, of their mixing of Heaven and Earth together, motioning for a Discipline which is a very *Hotch-Potch*, a *Gallimaufrey* compounded of Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Popery, thinking in likelihood to please all sides, by framing, like the *Samaritans*, a Worship of Sundry Religions: But the Lord sees their Halting, and will one day reward them

for it in their own bosoms, as they have deserved; and for these Reasons, we desire the removing of this devised Liturgy and Hierarchy, and that *Christ's* true Ministry, Worship, and Government may be established by Act of Parliament (*Petition of the Independents, supra citat.*)

Presbyt. But when you have Petitioned, you do not Acquiesce in the Wisdom and Justice of the two Houses, who would have you quietly to attend the intended Reformation, which they hope to perfect ere long by those Arms, which they have raised to rescue the King from the Hands of his Evil Councillors, and bring him back to his Great Council the Parliament.

Indep. Alas! Alas! What do you tell us of Acquiescing? What Favour can tender Consciences expect from Rigid Presbyterians, who are resolved to set up their Discipline above all Power, and to enslave both King and People.

Presbyt. What can they expect but a Kingdom of Righteousness, and that the King should be made the most Glorious King in Christendome, as his Parliament hath promised him: That the Parliament should enjoy their Priviledges, the People their Liberties, and be freed from Monopolies, Ship-money, and the Antichristian Yoke of Prelacy: and a National Church-Government according to the Word of God, and the Solemn League and Covenant be established.

* A shrewd
Maxim: from
the Pen of one,
who knew them
intus in cute.

Indep. Ah Sir.! From thence arise all our Fears: Which are notably confirmed from former Experiences, wherever Presbytery hath obtained Power. For as to the King, he must never flatter himself with any hopes from the Presbyterians: Their Government carries such a special Enmity against Monarchy, * That whosoever will Found the one, must raise the Fundamentals of the other: For this little upstart Hierarchy can be little acknowledged, where Kingly Power is. This Epidemical Pest of Scotland was baptized by their Charity into a National Form in the Minority of King James, when the great Lords and Clergy, ruling all, divided Stakes, so that when he came at age, and thought to grasp a Scepter, he found a Manacle, for it had consumed the Monarchie to a Skeleton; the unlimited Power of the Convention of Estates, and General Assembly especially, like the Rod of Aaron, was

was such a budding Evil, that it devoured the Rod of Moses. For, *where they prevail*, they will allow the King nothing but a Name without Substance; the Bishops neither Name nor Substance; *And as for the People, they must expect no more favour from them than the Prince*: For they leave the Lords, and Gentry, nothing but Slavery; and the Commons, Tyranny under the meanest of their fellow-Subjects. *And to say truth, Solomon's great Vanity is a Prime Mystery of Presbyterian Government*, Servants on horseback, and Princes on foot, *for they assert*, That Magistrates of what Degrees or Rank soever, ought to use the Sword as they advise or command; and compel others to submit to the Decree of the General Assembly. And with what furious violence did they press their Covenant, sequestering all that refused to take it? So that they tread down all by a Moarnival or Two of Tyrants, no less Monstrous perhaps for Pride than Ignorance in every Parochial Inquisition. *And should their Government be established in England*, for 24 Diocesses, we should have 1000 Presbyteries, besides the Torture of Classes, Provincial Juntos, Synods, Assemblies. And how many of the Clergy must be called off from their Charges, to take upon their shoulders the Weight of Government, which was their only Argument against the Bishops? And certainly, Tyranny is more supportable in a few than many hands; and there is nothing to be expected but a fiery Tryal, where the Furnace of Discipline is so excessively heated, as it is by the *Presbyterians*; there being in one Ordinance of theirs about the Lord Supper, no less than Eighty sins named, excluding the Persons accused of any one of them from it, all which are left to the Malice of their Elders to accuse, as they did *Susanna*. So that a Citizen shall not dare to dispose of his Estate; wear good Apparel; get ten, twenty, or thirty *per Cent.* by Lawful ways of Trade, without the leave of the Elders. And then for the Men of the Long Robe, what will become of them? For all matters of Controversie will come before the *Consistory*. And after all this, Lay-Eldership is a meer decoy, the Preaching *Presbyters* will do all, and the other must stand or fall according to his Report at

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the

* Marchmont
Needham.

the General Assembly. (*The Case of the Kingdom Stated by M. N. Shewing the several Interests, Printed, 1647.*)

Presbyt. Kings and Parliaments have found a Notable Advocate of you, I have heard your Party speak other Language, even the most Wicked Blasphemies against this Re-forming Glorious Parliament: And to what purpose are your Fawning Applications to them, whose Authority you do not own? Pray do but hear this Paper read, Upon sight and consideration of the Votes of Parliament, Dated *Die Veneris, 20 Februarii, 1645*, and upon the Ordinance: Dated *Sabbati 14 Martii 1645*. Intituled, an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament for keeping of Scandalous Persons from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the enabling of Congregations for the choice of Elders, and supplying defects in former Ordinances, and Directions of Parliament, concerning Church-Government. Resolved by Tender Conscience, with the consent of Gods Holy Word and Spirit assembled together, That the Word of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, without the Word of the Lord of Heaven and Earth, is no warrant for Tender Conscience to joyn with ungodly Parishes, in the choice of Spiritual Elders to Govern Gods Spiritual House.

* Observe this
Reservation, for
in ordine ad
Spiritualia,
draws all things
of civil nature
to their Juris-
diction.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament have the Civil Government over the Bodies and Estates in * Civil things, but the Lord Jesus in Spiritual.

Resolved, &c. That the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and the Parish Churches and Chappels therein, have not yet been proved to tender Conscience to be Churches of Christ: Nor have the Directions that passed both Houses, bearing Date, *19 August. 1645*. Nor the supplying Ordinance since, nor hath any thing of that nature been proved to be according to the Word of God, and that Tender Conscience never read of *Classes's*, nor Parochial Congregations in the *Bible*.

Resolved, &c. That therefore such Election of Parochial Congregational Elders, the Warning thereof, and the Sermon preparatory is, in the Judgment of tender Conscience, a taking Gods Name in vain.

Resol-

Resolved, &c. That the Major part of the Parishes, being Ungodly, will chuse Ungodly Elders; and that not all such, as have taken the National Covenant, are fit to chuse Godly Elders; that many persons under Age, and Servants without Families, are more Godly than their Parents and Masters that keep Families, and in Christs Church not to be excepted against in the Choice of Church-Officers, seeing that all Saints, both *Jews and Gentiles, Bond and Free*, are all one in *Christ, Gal. Chap. 3. ver. 28. And that his Saints are not to have the Faith of Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, in respect of Persons.*

Resolved, &c. That the Lord Mayor, and Cities Presidents, or any Presidents which tend, or have tended to the taking away or obstruction of the Settlement or Establishment of the Antient bounds of Liberty of Conscience, cannot amount in the least to be any binding President to Tender Conscience.

Finally, It is Resolved, &c. That the Lord of Tender Conscience is Lord of all Lords and Laws, and never Ordained to bring in any thing into his Worship, but that which First was by his own Institution; and that therefore all Acts, Ordinances, Votes, Protestations, Declarations, &c. made, or which hereafter, without the Word of God, shall be made by any Person or Persons whatsoever, shall be of no Force against Tender Conscience, in the Worship of God; and that though such Humane Acts, Ordinances, &c. take hold only of all those Men that have the Mark of the Beast, but that Tender Conscience, and the Friends thereof, shall be Exempted there-from.

May 1. 1646. Ordered to be Printed,

Christian Meekness

Clerk to Tender Conscience.

[Several Votes of Tender Conscience, Printed, July 28. 1646.] Pray, do you own this Paper, good Mr. Independent?

Indep. Why truly, Sir, I do own it, and since you are so hot upon inflaming of poor Tender Consciences, I am to deal plainly with you, and to tell you, that the Manner of a true, pure, and perfect Reformation is hidden from your Eyes; You *Presbyterians* are Friends to the Midnight of *Popery*, your *Directory* is the Golden Calf of your own Invention,

your Two Children are Power and Maintenance : The Angel of the Lord hath Smitten you with Blindness, as he did the Sodomites, else you would have found the Door of the Visible Church : Your Way is a persecuting Way : Your Blind Guides would all be Controllers ; You are like your Fore-Fathers, the Blood-Thirsty Bishops ; you Pollute, Prophane, and Trample under Foot *Christ's* precious Truths ; you derive your Ordination from the Antichristian Prelates, and are the *Second Beast*, Rev. Chap. 13. ver. 2. *What can be said bad enough* of this Sect of the Blasphemous, Persecuting, Treacherous *Presbyterians*, Popish *Presbyterians*, Prophane *Presbyterians* ? 'Tis you that, wherever you come, are guilty of all Divisions in Towns, Cities, Families ; *you, even you, Presbyterian Praters*, all whose Ways are Impure, Imperfect, and Impious. *Come on, Sir*, I'll shew you your Picture here in a Broad-side ; Do you see that Winged Heart mounting towards Heaven ? that is Tender Conscience ; look there, on the Right hand stands the Pope with the Latin Mass-book in one of his hands, and in the other a Sword to wound Tender Conscience ; on the left hand stands a *Prelate* in the same Posture, holding in his left hand The Liturgie ; and in the middle, d'ye mark ! there stands your Dapper *Sir Jack Presbyter* in his Cloak, in one hand a Dagger, with which he attempts to Wound the Winged Heart, and in his other hand the *Directory* ; Look ye, all these three are linked together in one Chain, to shew, that they have all the same Design, but *Presbyter* is the Worst of the Three, for, if you observe, you will see he tramples upon a Crown Imperial, which he hath gotten under his Feet ; but pray mark, *the Curst Cow hath the shortest Horns*, your *Presbyters's* Dagger is too short, and how good soever his Will may be, here's a Weight with a Chain fastened to his Bloody Dagger-hand, so that he is not able to reach the Flying Heart, but that, by the Help of her Wings, Tender Conscience mounts out of his, and the reach of all her Enemies, and

The more

*You wound my dear and precious Tender Heart ;
Your Seared ones shall feel the grievous Smart.*

All Three to injure me as Mortal Foe ;

Encreaseth your Eternal Wo, Wo, Wo. Rev. 8. 13.

(Dicta-

(Dictated thoughts upon the Presbyterians late Petitions, for Complete and Universal Authority in Divine Ordinances, to be conferred upon them by Humane Authority. Printed, April. 14. 1646.

Presbyt. Most certainly, by his Foming at the mouth, the Man is distracted, and perfectly Raves; but, Sir, I shall give your Courage a Cooling Julep, by informing the House concerning you.

Indep. What do you tell us of the House, or the Parliament? I must tell you, that opposing of Independency is a perfect Theomachy, a plain Fighting against God. We are under the Government of Christ alone: No Power on Earth, or Earthly Lawgivers, may, can, or ought to give Laws for the Government of the Church. Neither Kings, nor Parliaments, nor Synods, have Authority to prescribe Laws or Rules for Church Government, to make Coactive Laws to bind Conscience to Conformity, or to inflict Mulcts or Penalties for contempt or disobedience. For the Members of Parliament are chosen but by a Secular Rout, by the Generality and Riff-Raff of the World, Papists, Atheists, Drunkards, and Swearers. And the Parliament's Claiming this Power is seven times more undermining and destructive of their Power, Honor, Peace, and Safety; it is claiming the incommunicable Prerogative, and Regalities of Heaven; an attempt to make themselves equal with God. *Truth Triumphant over Falshood, &c. by W. Pryn, Printed by the Order of the House of Commons, June, 2. 1644, In the Epistle Dedicatory to the Parliament.*

Presbyt. You give the Parliament good encouragement to favour you; But I doubt not, but they, and all honest Men, are sufficiently sensible of, and acquainted with, your Temper and Inclinations, but lest they should not, I shall take the Liberty to inform Them and the Whole Nation, That if Independent Government be suffered at this insolent rate, in time it cannot but overthrow all other Sorts of Ecclesiastical Government, and Civil too by the same Principles; for in reality it destroys all Civil Power, Magistracy, Corporations, Parliaments, Courts of Justice; for what ever Meekness they may pretend, Independency is such a Turbulent, Dangerous, Unquiet, Schismatical Government, as will un-King, un-
O Par-

Parliament, un-Church a Nation, nay un-Nation them. For it makes each several gathered Congregation, an absolute Monarchy, Church, Republick, and Nation within it self. It is a Model of Government more Rigid, Uncharitable, Unsociable, Papal, Tyrannical, Anti-Monarchical, Anti-Synodical, Anti-Parliamentary, than any Government whatsoever. *A full Reply to certain brief Observations, and Anti-Queries upon Pryn's 12 Queries*, Printed, Oct. 19. 1644.

Indep. *Unking, and Anti-Monarchical*, Very fine! your Worship forgets the Proverb. Nay for that commend me to you Presbyterians; You are for a King that shall be no King, a King of Clouts. Have not you taught us, That Parliaments are the Supreme Power, and that Kings are Subordinate to them? That a King hath no Power to impose Taxes; to give Portions to his Children? That he cannot displace a Judge? That he is bound to confirm what is concluded by the States? That he is Obliged not to depart from the Parliament? That they may Summon him to Appear before them; Question him, Restrain him, Allow him only a Pension to support him; Order his House, Appoint him Counsellors, Appoint him Governors; Separate his Queen from him; Void his last Will; Seize his Revenues; Keep his Forts; Raise Arms against him; Bring in Foreigners; Banish him; Make Peace and Wars; Force him to resign his Right to the Crown; Force him to resign his Crown; Determine the Right of Succession to the Crown; Chuse their own Judges; Rescind the Kings Acts; Imprison him, put out his Eyes, strangle him; Absolve his Subjects from their Allegiance; Depose him; Disinherit him; Remove him at the Peoples pleasure; Elect another, Christian or Infidel? (Pryn's *Sovereign Power of Parliaments*; Ordered to be printed by the Committee for Printing, and Licensed by John White, Printed for Michael Sparke, Jun. June 23. 1643.)

Presbyt. You are very *Brisque* in Charging us with what, if it be a Crime, you are as guilty of, as We: For *Independency*, if admitted, ruins not only Monarchy, but even our Sovereign Power of Parliaments, and cassates all Obedience. For you make Laws for your selves, which
your

your Congregations must submit to, or be Excommunicated and delivered up to the Devil; you affirm, That every particular Congregation is a Complete, Intire, Absolute, Spiritual Republick, Corporation, Body, and City of God, of it self, and of absolute Authority within it self, subject to no other Jurisdiction, than that of Christ, and his Word, and Spirit; and not under any Congregation, Synod, or National Church, or humane Power whatsoever; and that the Parliament cannot make Canons or Rules to bind it, nor perscribe any Church-Government or Discipline to it: And in short, Independency is flat Popery, holding themselves, as the Pope doth, subject and accountable to none but Christ, as you may see in *Alv. Pelag. de planctu Ecclesiæ, lib. 1. Art. 6. 13. 31. 34. 35. 37.* And every Independent Minister is a perfect Pope. (*Pryns Truth triumphing over Falshood, supra citat.*) Nay, one of your Ministers in the Summer Islands, one *White*, was openly pronounced, in the presence of God and the whole Congregation, to be Supreme Head of that Church next under Christ, and none above him. *And your manner of entering into your Congregational way shews your true Temper; for after Confession of Sins, the Profelytes are admitted and received, and enter into Church-Covenant to stand to and maintain their Church and Discipline, Orders, Governors, and Government, to the uttermost of their Power and Abilities, and to strive therein, even unto Blood. (Letter from Summer Islands from one Richard Beak, who at 74 years of age was imprisoned 13 Months, for opposing this White and his Independent Congregation.)* But I hope the Parliament will serve you, as they did your busie Socinian Teacher Goodwin, and stop all your Mouths with a silencing Ordinance.

Indep. They served that precious man so indeed, for his Book called *Theomachia*, An excellent recompence for his kindness to them, which was, if any fault, *Error Amoris*, not *Amor Erroris* in him, and designed to prevent their dashing against this Stone, which will one day break all Power in pieces, (*Truth Triumphant, &c.*) But never trouble your selves, for we do not, with your Parliament Ordinances, which are but Parliament Toyes, (*Martins Eccho*) the People

never trusted the Parliament with Church Government, which they themselves have not, and therefore cannot give it: For what cannot be given, cannot be received; but had you the Arch-Bishops Power, I find you would exceed him in Cruelty of Persecution, you are the Parliaments *Evil Genius*, egging and inciting them to Acts of Tyranny against an Innocent People, and had you Command, you would Censure, Fine, Pillory, Imprison, Banish, and differ little from *Bonner* and *Gardiner* in *Queen Maryes Days*; (*A help to understand Mr. Pryn*) for you are neither better nor worse than a company of Prophanes Apostates, Popish, Jesuitical Incendiaries, Haters of Gods People; and while we are fighting and hazarding our dearest Lives for the Subjects Liberty, as *Mr. Lilburn* too truly said of you, we are in danger of being brought into *Egyptian Bondage*, in this and other particulars by the Black-coat *Presbyterians*, who I am affraid will prove more Cruel Task-masters, than their dear Brethren the Bishops. For what *I pray* is the inhansing and ingrossing of Interpretations, Preachings, and Discipline into the *Presbyterians* Hands, but a meer Monopoly of the Spirit, and worse than the Monopoly of Sope. The Ordinance, That no Unordained Persons Preach, is a Patent of the Spirit, to get the whole Trade into their own Hands, to rob the People with what Ware and Price they please, to look in their Faces and pick their Pockets. (*A Fresh Discovery of some prodigious new wandring Blazing Stars and Five brands, Styling themselves New Lights*, by *W. Pryn*, 1645.)

Presbyt. Nay, you and your un-ordained Independent Preachers, have made brave work in the Pulpit: It would make ones Hair stand an end, to hear what hath been taught by Ignorant, Impudent Mechanicks; and what Damnable Blasphemies and Heresies have been broached by them among the People, for Soul-saving Truths: Such as these. That *Christs* Righteousness is a beggarly Righteousness; That *Christs* Blood did not purchase Heaven for any Man; That *Christ* shed his Blood for Kine and Horses, as well as for Men; That the Devils and Souls of Men are Mortal, and none but God Immortal; That we are only to believe the Scriptures;

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as they are agreeable to Sense and Reason ; That the Scriptures are uncertain, insufficient, and not an Infallible Rule of Faith ; That the Scriptures cannot be said to be the Word of God, Christ only being so ; That the Scriptures of the Old Testament do not bind Christians under the New ; That Adultery and Drunkenness are not Sins ; That Prayer in Families is unlawful ; That *Christ's* Sufferings were only for our Example, not to purchase Heaven for us ; That no Man was cast into Hell for Sin, but only because God would have it so ; That *Christ* will destroy all Government, Lawful, and Unlawful ; That God was never displeased with Men for Sin ; if he were, it were changeableness in God ; That the Church and Ministry of *England* are *Antichristian* ; That Toleration of *Jews, Turks, Pagans*, in all Nations is the Will of God ; That there is no Resurrection ; That if a *Womans* Husband was sleeping, or absent, she may lawfully lye with another Man, because sleep is Death ; That *John Baptist's* Doctrine of Repentance was a Leathern Doctrine ; That *Adam's* Sin deserved not Hell ; That all the Heaven there is, is here on Earth ; That Universities are of the Devil, and Humane Learning of the Fleth ; That many shall be Saved, that were never Elected ; That They are the great *Anti-Christ*, who deny the general Redemption of the whole Creation ; That no Man had any thing to do to hinder it, if any Person should Worship the Sun or the Moon ; That the Doctrine of Repentance is a Soul-depraving Doctrine ; That the Lords Day ought not to be kept, all dayes being alike under the Gospel ; That Sanctification is but a Dunghill-dirty Qualification ; That there is no Church, no Ordinances, nor Ministers in the World ; That it is unlawful to teach Children to Pray ; That Infants shall not rise again, because they were not capable of knowing God, and so not of enjoying God. (*A Discovery of dangerous Heresies taught by Mechanicks. Printed April 26, 1647.*) And in short, Independency is a Seminary of Schismes, and dangerous Divisions in the Church and State ; a Flood-gate to let in all Heresies, Errors, Sects, Libertinisme, and even the Mahometan Doctrine. (*Twelve Queries about Church-Govern-*

ment against the Independents, by W. Pryn.

Indep. Well, Well! You may talk what you please of Heresies, Errors, Sects, and Schismes, but this I am assured of, That all the Plagues of Egypt were but a Flea-biting to what one *Presbyterial* Church would be, the Pope himself is as truly Christian as our *Presbyterie*; they can never be Good to others, who are guilty of such Ingratitude to the Bishops, from whom, formerly they received the Holy Ghost, with all their Spiritual Preferments, and were first put into a capacity of Lording it, as they do, over the People; whom, like ungracious Children, viperous Vermine, inhumane Cannibals, notwithstanding their Grace and Favour, they have devoured up and shared the Inheritance among them. (*A Sacred Decree, &c.*) *Presbyterial* Government is much more truly said to be Prelatical, than the Episcopal; nay both Papal and Episcopal Government is better than *Presbyterian*, more Uniform, and have continued many Hundred of Years longer than *Presbytery*, and were long before *Presbytery* was thought of; it was but a Shift at a Pinch, that the Devil made, when neither of the other would serve his Turn, and so came up *Presbyterie*, but what good the Devil will have of it, I know not, for who knows the Luck of a Lowfie Cur, he may prove a good Dog. (*Robinson's Answer to Pryn's 12 Queries. And the Arraignment of Persecution, cited by Pryn in his Fresh Discovery, &c.*)

Presbyt. Oh, Monstrous! I now find it true, what my worthy Friend Dr. Bastwick saith of you, viz. A Man may truly say of Independents, *Diabolus cacavit illos*, they are the very Nephews of *Heliogabalus*, Terrible Dissemblers, and Notorious Liars; if they get Authority, down go the Churches, which must be made *Tophets* of; down go Gentry and Nobility, the Sons of Belial, (*Bastwick's Letter to Vicars.*) Remember your Solemn League and Covenant; pray, Mr. Independent, did not you joyn with us in it, and do you now renounce both that and the Parliament? I must tell you, That to withdraw from this Community, the Parliament, our Representatives, is next Door to withdrawing from, and renouncing God himself; nay it is a plain Renouncing of him, and Warring against him.

him. The Cause is Holy, Just, and Good, and God will come in for the Defence of it in his own Time; In taking the Covenant, *you, as well as we*, have Vowed, and we will not Repent, to oppose these Adversaries to Death; be they Bishops, Lawyers, Devils, (He is their Prince) we will oppose these to Death, nay we Vow and Covenant now to take up Arms against King and Queen, both setting themselves against God, and the Power of Godliness: For though we have taken the Oath of Allegiance, we are only Sworn to Obey the King, while he Obeys God; for what are the Princes and Nobles of the Earth, but God's Scullions to clear up and purge his Vessels appointed to Honour? Pray, Good Mr. Independent, remember your self and the Covenant. (*The Covenant Asserted*, Printed, August 14. 1643.)

Indep. The Covenant cannot bind us, till one Clause viz. according to the Word of God, be determined: And having done the utmost to fulfil it, by helping you to Extirpate Root and Branch, we have done all the Covenant requires, (*The Case of the Kingdom stated, &c.*) but besides, it is a meer Snare to catch the People with the Face of Reformation, *never kept, nor intended to be kept by your selves that made and imposed it on others*; for by the Covenant you were Sworn to root out all Popery, but yet you have Established Tithes, the Root of Popery, (*Lilburn cited by Pryn, Fresh Discovery, &c.*) and in truth it is impossible to be kept, and the Makers of it have run into wilfull Perjury, it is a Makebate, Persecuting, Soul-destroying, *England-dividing*, and Undoing Covenant, (*England's Birthright by J. Lilburn* :) And therefore, as Mr. Goodwin tells you, to Violate such an Abominable and Accursed Oath, as this Covenant is, is an Holy and a Blessed Perjury, (*12 Cautions by J. Goodwin, in opposition to Pryn's 12 Queries.*)

Presbyt. I have often heard some of your Party say indeed, That Presbyterian Government came in with Knox, and must go out with Knocks, and Mr. Solicitor gave us your *Ultima Ratio* for it the other Day in the House, with a Menace, That you must have Recourse to the Power of the Sword, the longest Sword take all; so that as Dr.

Bastwick says, we must expect shortly, that, according to your frequent threatnings, you will fall to Cutting of the Throatsof the *Presbyterians*. (*Hist. of Independ. and Bastwick's Post-script to Burton.*)

Indep. Nay, the Truth is, We are resolved to have none of your Blew-Cap Reformation. Your Reverend Assembly of Divines is such a Quagmire of Croking Frogs, composed of Skip-Jack *Presbyters*, a Synodian Whore, a Trayterous Synod, so many *Presbyterian* Horse-Leaches, Blood-thirsty Cattle, Jesuitical Traytors, that it is a meer Consistory of Devils, guided by the Holy Ghost sent in a Cloak-bag from *Scotland*, that there is no induring of them any longer. (*Arraignment of Persecution. And Martin's Echo, Printed, 1646.*)

Presbyt. One may now with half an Eye see what you would be at. You have got the Sword, and you will Govern with it: Your Insolencies are plain Evidences of your Intentions. One of your Prophane Crew, the last Sabbath, gave up a Bill at Mr. *Calamie's* Church in these Words, You are desired to remember in your Prayers the Sick and Weak Estate of those Priest-Ridden Slaves, that went about to gather Hands to the Petition for Disbanding of Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army. (*Real Persecution, or the Foundation of a general Toleration displaid, Collected out of the Libels of Sectaries against Presbyterian Ministers, Printed Feb. 1. 1646.*)

Indep. Does that make you start? Nay then you shall have more, I'll shew you the Nativity and Fortune of your Dear Friend Sir John Presbyter, and his Son Sir Simon Synod. 'Twas e'en the Devil made the Urchin Sir John Presbyter, a poor Abject Fugitive newly come out of Scotland; but his Life is like neither to be good nor long; he will be brought to some untimely End, perhaps Hanging: his Teeth and Nails must be pluck'd out, and cut off by an Independent Barber, that hereafter he may never Bite or Scratch more; for these all hate a Tithe-devouring Priest, as they hate the Devil: And for your Synod, it will soon be dissolved, and the Devil chained up.

Reverend

*Reverend Assembly, up, arise, and jogg,
 For you have fairely fish'd and catch'd a Frogg.
 Now you have sate four years, pray can you tell
 A man the way that Christ went down to Hell?
 In all this time what can a Wise Man think,
 That you have done ought else but eat and drink?
 Presbytery climb'd up to th' top of Fame,
 Directory and all from Scotland came,
 O monstrous Idleness! alack and welly,
 Our Learned Clergy mind nought but their Belly.*

(*Real Persecution, &c.*) And to be short with you, National Churches under the Gospel, are of Anti-Christ's setting up. Your present Church is a true Whorish Mother, and you are her Bastardly Children; your Worship is of the Devil and Anti-Christ's Invention, Institution, and Setting up, *and to convince you what you are to trust to,* precious Mr. Peters, and some others, met with Mr. Lilburn the other day at the Wind-mill Tavern, where he moved to Petition the Parliament for the present Dissolving of your Assembly, and sending them home to their Country Cures. *And you know, what an influence that Godly Man hath upon the Army and Parliament.* (Fresh discovery, &c. *supra citat.*)

Presbyt. Hugh Peter! *I know that Turncoat full well: Look you here, and you shall see him in his Canonical Habit, and by his Scantling you may take a measure of your Party, and what Credit or Faith is to be given to Men whose Consciences are made of Weathercock-Metal.* Here's a Letter which Mr. Pryn avers he found in the late Archbishop of Canterburie's Study, written with Hugh's own Hand, and thus indorsed by the Arch-Bishop, viz. Mr. Hugh Peter's Submission before the Bishop of London, Aug. 17. 1627. *Which shews what a profligate, faithless Wretch that main Pillar of your Religion is.*

Indep. Come, I know Mr. Peters must write Excellently, let's hear it, otherwise I shall believe you abuse both him and me.

Presbyt. Then thus it was penned.

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Right

Right Reverend Father in God,
and My very Good Lord,

‘ Being required to make known to your Lordship my
‘ Judgment concerning some things propounded at my
‘ last being before your Lordship; from which Proposi-
‘ tions though I never dissented, nor know any cause why
‘ I should be suspected; Yet being ready and willing to
‘ obey your Lordship in all things, especially in so just a
‘ demand as this, I have consulted Antiquity, and with
‘ our Modern *Hooker* and others, and humbly desire
‘ your Lordship to accept the satisfaction following.

‘ First, For the Church of *England* in General, I bless
‘ God, I am a Member of it; I was Baptized in it; and am
‘ not only most assured, it is a True Church, but I am per-
‘ swaded, it is the most Glorious and Flourishing Church this
‘ day under the Sun, which I desire to be truly thankful
‘ for; and for the Faith, Doctrine, Articles of that Church,
‘ and the Maintenance of them, I hope the Lord will ena-
‘ ble me to contend; *tanquam pro Aris & Focis*, yea I trust
‘ to lay down my Life, if I were thereunto called.

‘ Secondly, For the Governors and Government there-
‘ of, *viz.* The Reverend Fathers the Arch-Bishops and Bi-
‘ shops, I acknowledge their Office and Jurisdictions, and
‘ cannot see, but there would follow a fearful *Ataxy* with-
‘ out the present Government; whereof I so approve, that
‘ I have and do willingly submit to it, and have and will
‘ press the same upon others.

‘ Thirdly, For the Ceremonies, that are in use among
‘ us, as I have already Subscribed, so I shall diligently and
‘ daily Practise; neither have I ever been accused for neg-
‘ lect therein, where I have formerly exercised my Mi-
‘ nisterial Function, but to them do give my full approba-
‘ tion and allowance.

‘ Fourthly, For the Book of Common-Prayer, the
‘ Liturgie of the Church, and what is in them contained;
‘ (finding them agreeable to the Word of God) I have
‘ used, as other Ministers have done, and am resolved
‘ so to do, and have not been refractory in this particu-
‘ lar at any time, nor do intend to be, God willing. And
‘ to

‘to these I subscribe with my heart and hand, humbly
 ‘submitting them, and my self, to your Lordships plea-
 ‘sure.

Your Lordships in all Humble Service,

Hugh Peter.

[*Fresh Discovery, &c. supra citat.*]

Indep. O! *This was written in the Days of his Blindness, but the Lord hath Inlightened him better now.*

Presbyt. *Oh! What Illuminations spring from Perjury, and the Power of the Sword! Does he not tell you, he had studied Antiquity, and the Modern Writers too? Does he not, ex animo and from Deliberation of his Judgment, tell you, he was satisfied in every particular of the Prelatical Government? And yet who has done more to destroy it, Root and Branch? Was he not a Professed Presbyterian, till Independency got the Weather-Gage, and then he tacks about too. So that he must be either a most Notorious Liar and Hypocrite, in this Letter to the Bishop, or a most impious Wretch, to go against the Dictates of his Conscience, in overthrowing the most Glorious and Flourishing Church under the Sun, and fighting against Her tanquam pro Aris & Focis, instead of laying down his Life for her, and therefore e’en take him among you, we shall know you better by the Company you keep than by any other Wayes.*

Indep. *Well, so let it be, if he had not known you, we had never had him, but Experience hath made more than him Wise, he is sufficiently acquainted with your Gorbellied Idol of Presbyterie, and the Dissembly Doctors, to have any thing more to do with them, than to tell them, That they would do the State better Service with their Canonical Girdles, were the Knot tied in the Right place; or, if that be too severe, to wish them to Adjourn to Bedlam, where, as the fittest place, I leave you and them, Good Sir John Presbyter.*

These are the Men, and these are the Manners, these are their Positions and Principles, this is their Meekness

and Charity, their Tenderneſs and Unity; theſe are their Thoughts of Monarchy and Episcopacy, of Order and Government, of Obedience and Subjection. Here is a taſte of their Divinity, Humanity, Morality, Politicks, Ethicks and Honesty, though it is *Canis ad Nilum*, only a few Snaps and away, for fear of the *Crocodiles*, and indeed *Nilus* is their proper Emblematical Parent, and they are the very *Crocodiles* of Religion, who are always Whining, till they are able to devour the Government: But certainly here is ſufficient Deformity, to perſwade all Good, Virtuous, and Religious People for ever to abandon them; not but that, if I thought it neceſſary, or that it would not Nauſeate rather than Divert the Reader, I could have blotted many more Pages out of their own Ink; but truly, meaſuring the Inclinations of others by my own, I muſt ingenuouſly acknowledge that it gives me very ſlender diverſion to Traffick in ſuch Courſe Painting, and ſuch Ugly Colours; but there is a neceſſity, that he, who muſt Paint the Infernal Legions of Darkneſs, ſhould dip his Pencil in the deepeſt Black, and pourtray Deformity: And that he, who would, from the Life, draw the exact Picture of *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and other *Sects*, muſt fetch the beſt Colours to do it with, from their own Shops. And truly it is a ſatisfaction to me, that I have not had this drudgery put upon me, but that theſe Monsters have drawn the Lineaments of their own hideous Shapes and Figures: And whatever Opinion the preſent *Separatiſts* may have either of me or of their Predeceſſors, I think, though I might have diſplaid their Principles, which are equally Monſtrous and Dangerous, in the proper Colours of Truth, yet I ſhould not have beſpattered my ſelf at this groſs rate, to render them more ugly: And indeed, let who will dreſs theſe Principles in the Whiteſt Garb, they will look like *Negro's*, who though Apparrelled in the cleaneſt Linnen, will be *Negro's* ſtill: But certainly, as there can be no Exceptions againſt the Perſons who have given theſe Characters, they being the Principal Champions and *Heroes* of theſe two powerful *Sects* of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, ſo there can be no doubt of the Truth of their Characters; for like
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skilful Combatants, as by long trval they best knew each others defects, so they address'd themselves most vigorously to attack each other in the weakest places, and one may well perceive by the mutual Wounds they give and receive, that they both wanted the Armour of Truth: And most assuredly, if all, they charge each other to be Guilty of, be true, *Hell* hath nothing able much to surpass them in Blackness, and if they be false, nothing that can equal them in Malice and Falseness; so that let their Accusations be true or false, they manifestly prove each Faction to be most intolerably Wicked, Faithless, Mischievous, and Dangerous to all Mankind, and even to Humane Society: And for my own particular, I cannot see, how it had been possible to have found any Arguments so capable to undeceive and deliver the deluded People of this *Nation* out of that strange fond Opinion, which they have entertained of such Sanctimonious *Impostors*, as these, with which they themselves have furnished us against themselves; and this, I hope, may likewise excuse the Repetition of such Treasonable Positions, such unmannerly and bitter Invectives, such fierce Accusations, and such horrible Crimes, as these two Factions are by their own Mouths and Pens convicted to be Guilty of.

But their greatest Guilt is still behind, the very *Quintessence* of those Envenomed Anti-Monarchical Principles refined into one *Dismal Act*. For notwithstanding all these mutual Quarrels, they were still most Harmoniously consenting and united in the Prosecution of the *King*, as the Common Enemy: And after all the Miseries of a Cruel, Bloody, and Unnatural War, in which they had involved the Kingdom, they proceeded at the last to Consummate all their former Wickednesses, by the most Execrable Design, that ever the Sun lent Beams to the Day to behold, the Murder of the Ornament of Monarchy, the Miracle of Piety, and the Vice-gerent of Heaven upon Earth, the *King*; their *King*; their Natural Liege Lord and Sovereign; seeking the Security of their former Treasons by his Ruine; and palliating their Rebellion, by Murdering first his Innocence, and then his Sa-

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cred Person, and endeavouring to cover all their Former Crimes by committing Greater.

For the *Independent* Faction, under *Cromwel's* Favour, who had now openly declared himself of that Party, having now got into their Possession the uncontrollable Power of the Sword; they first Endeavour to get the King, now a Prisoner to the Parliament, into the hands of the Army, which was now wholly *Independent*, the *Prebyterians* being thrust out of all Military Employs, this was in a little time, by *Cromwel's* Power, effected by one *Joyce*, a Creature of his, who when he had given him an Account of the Success of that Commission, *That's well, said Cromwel, for now I have the King in my Power, I have the Parliament in my Pocket.*

The next step was, to make sure of the City of *London*, which, by the mischief it had done the King, was of too great Importance to be slighted, and of great Necessity and Advantage to be gained: They were very sensible, should *London* heartily and unanimously oppose them, that heavy Weight would be able to turn the Scale, and very much Traverse, if not Hazard the intire Ruine of their Designs: This *Cromwel* knew so well, that he was wont to say to his Confidants, *That London must be brought to more absolute Obedience, or laid in the Dust.* A Declaration well worth the Consideration of that Noble City, and a Caution to them for ever to be aware of these Treacherous *Factions*, who, if their Interest required it, and their Power were able to effect it, would make no Difficulty to Execute the Menace of that Infamous *Usurper*.

But to proceed, in order to the gaining of this Point, they first Court the City to a Neutrality, but the City declining that, and there being some Overtures of an Accommodation with the King, which *Cromwel* and his Party most dreaded, he Threatens to March up with the Army to *London*, whereupon, the Citizens Hearts misgiving them, and the *Independents* having gained upon diverse Considerable Members of it, it was Resolved, to try to divert that Storm, whereupon they send *Fowke, Gibbs, and Estwick*, to Treat with the Army, who like perfidious and timorous *Slaves*, betrayed their Trust, and those that Employed them

them in that Affair. For the Result of their Negotiation was, That the City should relinquish the Power of the *Militia*, and leave the Establishment of it to the Council of the Army; That they should deliver up all their Forts, the Line of Communication, the Tower with all the Arms and Ammunition, to the Army; That they should disband their Forces, demolish all their Out-works and Fortifications, and suffer the whole Army to March through the City; all which to the Eternal Dishonor of those Pusillanimous *Comards*, only Valiant in Rebellion, they presently after most Triumphantly put in Execution.

This great Rub being so fortunately surmounted, they now began to open the Dismal Scene, and that, they might extinguish the least remaining Sparks of Loyalty, they fall to Menacing such, as durst, in the least, Oppose them. For upon the Debate, which happened concerning the Nulling of all Acts, Orders, &c. from July 26. 1647. to August. 6. Sir Arthur Haslrig openly declared in the House, *That some Heads must fly off, and that, he feared, the Parliament of England would not Save the Kingdom of England, that they must look another way for Safety*: And many other threatening Speeches were made by Sir H. Vane Jun. Sir John Evelyn Jun. Prideaux, Gourdon, Mildmay, Scot, and Cornelius Holland; and in conclusion, a Letter, with a Remonstrance full of Invectives and Menaces, from the General Fairfax and the general Council of the Army, was produced, by which Means they gained that Point also.

Upon the 24. of December the four Bills, whereby the King was to be Devested of every thing, but the Empty Name, were sent to the King, as the Conditions of restoring him to his Liberty and Crown. And upon the third of January, the Kings answer was Read and Debated; upon which Sir Thomas Wroth broke out into this Extravagant Speech, (fitter for Bedlam Himself, or rather Tyburn, than St. Stephen's Chappel,) *That Bedlam was appointed for Mad-men, and Tophet for Kings: That our Kings of late had carried themselves, as if they were fit for no place, but Bedlam*; and therefore Moved, first to Secure

the King, and keep him close Prisoner in some Inland Castle, with strong Guards. *Secondly*, to draw up Articles of Impeachment against him. *Thirdly*, to lay him aside, and settle the Kingdom without him; and for his own particular, he said, he valued not what Form of Government they set up, so it were not by *Kings and Devils*.

This was Seconded by Ireton, who spoke the Sense of the Army, and said, *That the King had denyed Safety and Protection to his People, by denying the four Bills: That Subjection to him was but in lieu of Protection from him to the People; that This being denied by the King, they may well deny any more Subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him; That it was expected, after so long Patience, they should now shew their Resolution, and not desert those Valiant Men of the Army, who had ingaged for them beyond the possibility of retreat.*

And to put the thrust home to the very Heart of the King, towards the latter end of his Speech, laying his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, that *Sorcerer Cromwel* stood up, and spake to this Effect: 'That it was now
'expected, that the Parliament should Govern and Defend
'the Kingdom by their own Power and Resolution, and
'to teach the People no longer to expect Safety and Go-
'vernment from an Obstinate Man, whose Heart God
'had hardened; That, they who had defended the Par-
'liament from so many hazards, difficulties, and dan-
'gers, with the expence of their Blood, would defend them
'herein, with Fidelity and Courage, against all Oppositi-
'on whatsoever; therefore, that they ought not to teach
'them, by neglecting their own and the Kingdoms Safety,
'in which their own is included, to think themselves be-
'trayed, and left to the Rage and Malice of an irreconci-
'lable Enemy, whom they had subdued for the Parlia-
'ment's sake, and therefore in probability likely to find
'his future Government of them insupportable, and more
'inclined to Revenge than Justice, lest otherwise Despair
'should teach those Valiant Men, to seek their Safety in
'some other means, than adhering to the Parliament,
'when they shall plainly see, you will not stick to your
'selves;

'selves: and how destructive such a Resolution in them
'may be to you all, added he, *I tremble to think, and leave*
'to you to Judge.

Whereupon the Question was immediately put, Whether the Two Houses should make no more Addresses or Applications to the King; and, the House being Divided, with the *Yeas*, were 141. with the *Noes*, 91. So it passed in the Affirmative.

But matters did not run so smoothly, as they had hoped; For the general Cry of the Nation was for a *Personal Treaty* with the King: This was violently opposed by the *Independent* Faction, and because there appeared great Inclinations in the City to favour the King, they Threatned, That after they had done with *Colchester*, they would Humble that Proud City of *London*. And to the Eternal Shame and Confusion of these Pretenders to Conscience, and to Tender Conscience too; the Reader shall hear that hideous Animal, upon this occasion, bray out the Bloody and Treasonable Thoughts of the Party possessed with this *Legion*, in one of those *Pamphlets*, which, according to their constant Practice, when they have the Press at Liberty, they Print and Disperse abroad to poyson the abused People, and to incite and animate them to Disloyalty, Treason, and the most Flagitious Villanies, under pretence of following the Directions and Dictates of Conscience.

The Paper wears this Title, *The Voice of Conscience to all Well-meaning Citizens*. Printed July 16. 1648. And thus he Harangues the People.

If you desire to see a longer and more Bloody War, and *London* (as the Chief Seat thereof) weltring in its own Blood; your Wives, Children, and Families starved and pined to death through Poverty, Famine, and want of Trade; if you would overthrow Parliaments for ever, and subject both them, and all People, to the Will of the King and his Courtiers; if you desire to see Foreigners invade you on all Hands, and many Armies at once Quartered upon your Land, putting hard for a *New Conquest* of this miserable divided Nation; and if you desire to see your Wives and your Daughters ravished before your Faces, and

your Childrens Brains Dasht against the Stones by lustful and Blood-thirsty *Cavaleers*; then follow the Steps of your Wealthy head-strong *Aldermen* and *Common-Council-Men*, in their hasty pursuance of a *Personal Treaty* with the King, or which is all one, removing him out of the Armies Power: For if you do, flatter not your selves, but be assured, [most Impious Confidence,] *as certain as God is in Heaven*, you will see those Miseries come to pass, and that swiftly too, you will be devoured in an instant without Hope of Remedy.

But if you abhor, and would prevent those Mischiefs, then avoid and detest their Ingagement; fly from it as from a Serpent, it being a *Viper* bred in your own Bowels to destroy you; and if you have unadvisedly subscribed it, Repent speedily, and Recal your Hands.

They most grossly delude you, and abuse the *Parliament*, in pretending they are able, nay willing to Prevent or Suppress Tumults; Trust them once, and they will desire no more; they will soon make it past a *Treaty*: And when you lye at their Mercy, complaining of the Breach of their Ingagements, they'l Deride and Spurn you; and you shall not dare to open your Mouths against them, but if you do, it shall be your Death; Night nor Day, you shall not with Safety go out of your Doors, but Stabbing and Pistoling will be common at Noon-day.

Oh therefore, all ye that Honor God, see this Exceeding *Danger* before it be too late; have Patience; wait upon God in his Way; run not to *Egypt* for help; lean not on so broken a Reed; consider how this *City* hath been threatned, and by whom; how often *Plots* have been covered under *Treaties*; destroy not all your Mercies through Impatience; forsake not a Just God (who hitherto hath Preserved you,) for any *Unjust Man* that hath long sought by all Means to Destroy you and Enslave you, leap not out of the Pan into the Fire.

Wait but a while, and you will see both City and Nation flourish; distrust not; he that Believeth maketh not haste: Fear not, and you will soon see the Salvation that God is preparing for you by just Means. This Way, which

ye

ye are now put upon, being the most dangerous that can be, and such as cannot be blessed: And had your *Aldermen* and *Common-Council-Men* any thing of God in them, they would rather seek satisfaction for all the Innocent Blood that hath been spilt, than for a *Personal Treaty*, which instead of ending your Troubles, as they would make you believe, will be but the beginning of new Sorrows; which indeed, is but just with God; * for as he justly punisheth Sin without respect of Persons, so he requireth, that all whom he hath Authorized with Power, should Impartially do the like; for of all the Sins and Abominations of the Land, Murder and Innocent Blood (chiefly of so many thousands and ten thousands) is one of the most Crying Sins and Abominations; and until that be done away by just satisfaction, according to the Laws of God and Man, there is no appearance of any well-grounded Peace, whereof the *Scots* and their *Confederates* so much boast; but rather of utter Ruine to all the Three Nations.

* Suppose the point of this Reasoning were turned against these Tender Conscience Rebels, how would they approve of such Divinity, and Perillus his Law --- nec lex est iustior ulla.

For as the Lives of *Saul* and *Ahab* were taken, the one for sparing *Agag* King of *Amaleck*, and the other *Benhadad* King of *Affyria*, so it is as likely and possible, as it is just and equitable, That God will in the first place, so deal with those who have justly accused the *Grand Enemy* of our Peace, if they instead of Prosecution, make as unjust an Agreement, contrary to the Revealed Will of God, 1 *Sam.* Chap. 15. ver. 8. and 1 *Kings* Chap. 20. ver. 42. and particularly in *Isaiah*, Chap. 14. verses 18. 19, 20, 21. where he expressly tells us, *All the Kings of the Nations, even all of them, lye in Glory, every one in his own House: But Thou art cast out of thy Grave, like an abominable Branch, and as the Rayment of those that are slain, thrust through with a Sword, that go down to the Stones of the Pit, as a Carcase trodden under foot. Thou shalt not be joyned with them in Burial, because (observe how directly the Villain turns the point of the Sword of the Spirit of the Word of God against the Kings Heart, to encourage the Regicides to pierce it with the Sword of Usurpation) thou hast destroyed thy Land, and slain thy People; the Seed of evil doers shall never be renowned. Prepare*

Slaughter for his Children, for the Iniquity of their Fathers, that they may not rise nor possess the Land.

This is the Voice of the Conscience of *Separation*, and how convincingly well it pleads for the Kindness and Esteem of all Loyal Subjects, and for the Favour and Indulgence of *Crowned Heads*, let this Paper be an Eternal Witness. If this be Conscience, all People, but Kings more especially, had need to insert it into their *Litany*, From the Tender Conscience of Dissenting Separatists, *Libera Nos Domine*. And most assuredly, if the True Religion, of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, teach and enjoyn all men, for Conscience sake, and under the Penalty of Eternal Damnation, to be Subject to Lawful Kings and Governors, though Heathens, Infidels, and Idolaters, as *Nero* was, when that Command was imposed, nay, and a most cruel Persecutor too; that must needs be a False Religion, and an Evil and Wicked Conscience, which does not only teach Rebellion, but is so Loud and Clamorous to incite Subjects, contrary to all the Obligations and Laws of God, Nature, and Nations, to seek the Ruine, Death, and Destruction of their Lawful, a Just, Religious, and *Christian* King.

But the Faction, who now were absolutely resolved upon the Kings Death, were not content with their Pens to incite the People to expect it; but, that they might accomplish their Execrable purpose, they fell again to Purg- ing and Impeaching such Gentlemen, as had but the sus- picion of Loyalty, or had done any thing towards a *Personal Treaty*: And *Skippon*, who, from a pitiful Wag- goner under Sir *Francis Vere*, had by his lucky Rebellion advanced to be a Major General, a Member of the Com- mons, and Governor of the City, Moved, That all *Per- sonal Treaters* might be Excluded. So said, so done; and no sooner said and done, and the Coast on that side clear, but it was Moved in the House to proceed Capi- tally against the King. Whereupon *Cromwel*, the most Superlative *Hypocrite* in Nature, by whose forelaid Con- trivance all this Affair was pre-concerted, stood up, and, as if he had been surprized, said, *That if any Man moved this upon Design, he should think him the Greatest Traytor*

Traytor in the World ; but since Providence and Necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their Counsels, though he was not provided on the sudden to give them Counsel in so Weighty an Affair.

However, upon this Motion, An Ordinance for the Tryal of the King was immediately brought in, Read and Passed that very day ; and the next being the 28th. of December 1648. it was carried up to the Lords for their Concurrence. But the Remainder of that House, how Undutyful soever they had formerly been, yet, most of them, for all had not, had so much Courage and Honour left, as would not permit them, for their Own, and the sake of their Posterity, to give their Content to that Ordinance, which, by utterly stopping the Fountain of all Honour, must render them, who derived theirs from thence, not only most Ingrateful, but Infamous in all future Ages : And therefore after the Reading of it, This Ordinance was by the Major part Rejected, and the House Adjourned themselves for seven days.

This Counterbuff, so little expected by the Faction, who thought they had humbled the whole Nation into that abject state of Cowardly Slavery, that none could be found so hardy as to oppose them, did wonderously Gall and Sting these Conscientious Traytors ; but their Zeal, or rather Pride and Ambition, were now at the Spring-Tide, and being swell'd by the Tempest of Absolute Power, they were resolved to surmount all difficulties and oppositions ; and being about to Cut up the very Root of Majestic, it is no wonder, if they made no scruple of Lopping the Branches of Honour : And therefore, *The Commons of England*, as they called themselves, many of whom were never born to an Inch of Freehold, immediately cut this Gordian Difficulty of the Negative, and indeed the whole Power of the Peerage by these Three Keen Votes.

Resolved upon the Question, *That the People, under God, are the Original of all Just Power.*

Resolved, &c. *That the Commons of England in Parliament Assembled, being Chosen by, and Representing the People, have the Supreme Power of the Nation.*

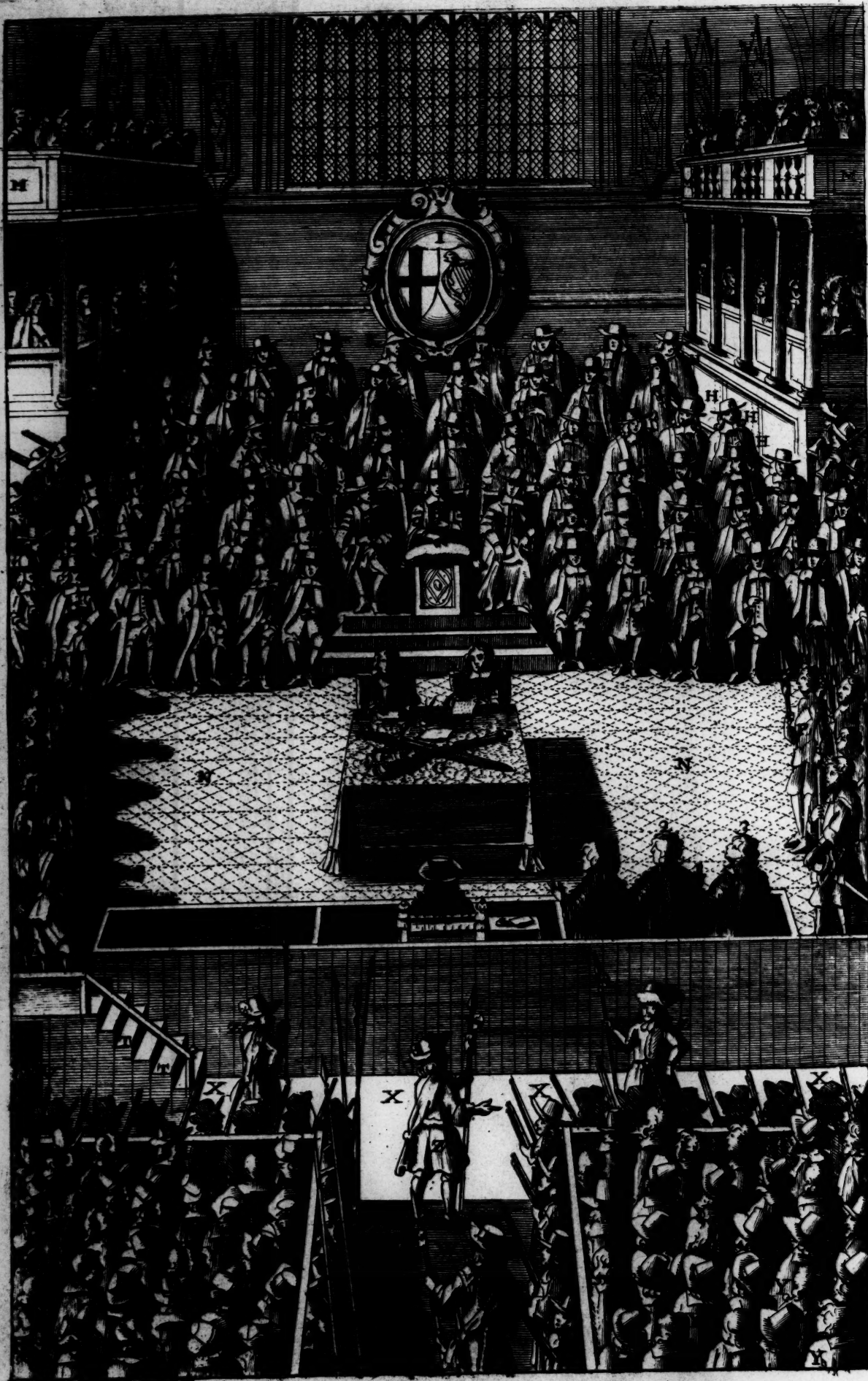
T

Resolved,

Resolved, &c. *That whatsoever is Enacted or Declared for Law by the House of Commons, Assembled in Parliament, hath the Force of Law.* And upon the Strength of these Votes, the Bill was passed, as the Act of the *Commons*.

And now the Fatal *Tragedy* was ready for the Acting, a *Tragedy* whose Horror and Amazing Wickedness, I must confess I want Language to express, and therefore I have nothing more to do, but to draw up the Curtain, and present them to the Reader in their own Dress, Habits, Words, and Actions, in the following Journal

THE



The Explanation of the Court, with some Animadversions.

A **T**HE King sitting in a large Elbow-Chair, covered with Crimfon Velvet; with Gold Fringe and Nails, and a Velvet Cushion, in a distinct Apartment, directly over against the Lord President; between the space allotted for the Council of the Common-wealth, standing on the right hand of the King, and the like (vacant) space leading from the Head of the Stairs to the Kings Apartment aforesaid.

These three several Divisions (all level with the Floor of the Court) were hung with Turkey Carpets, and Matted.

In the Partition allotted for the King was also placed a small Table covered with a Turkey Carpet, and a Standish and Paper set thereon, if his Majesty should have occasion for it.

Note, The King, of the mere Motion, special Grace, and singular Dispensation of his (Sovereign) Commons, was permitted, and did sit with his Hat on all the time; nay, at the very moment of pronouncing the Bloody Sentence. (See the Journal Page 25.)

Thus they, who thought it not Manners to take off his Hat, yet thought it no Sin to take off His Sacred Head.

B The Lord President Bradshaw sitting in an Elbow-Chair, advanced upon the first rising of the Court, having a large Desk fixed before him, covered with a Velvet Fall, and a large Velvet Cushion thereupon.

C John Lisle } sitting on the } right
D William Say } left } hand of the Lord President.

These two being appointed to be his Lordships Assistants.

Note, That the said Lord President and his said Assistants, being all three of the Long Robe, sate in their Gowns, the rest of the Commissioners in their usual Habits, as Gentlemen and Souldiers.

Note, That the said Lord President sat in a black Tufted Gown till the day of the Fatal Doom, what time he changed it for a Bloody Scarlet Robe, and had the Insolence to bid the King take particular Notice thereof, thinking possibly by such his barbarous Insulting Pedantick Threats to strike Terror into the King, with which yet the King was nothing moved or concerned.

E Andrew Broughton, } The two Clerks appointed to attend the Court, being seated
F John Phelps, } at the Feet of the said Lord President, under the Covert of his Desk,
G (Journal Page 12.)

The Table placed before the said Clerks, whereon sometimes lay the Common-Wealths Mace and Sword of State or Justice: Sometimes, I say, for at other times, the said Sword was advanced in the head of the Guards, with Partizans standing in the Court, on the right hand of the King, as he sate, and the said Mace was sometimes handed by their Serjeant at Arms, on the out-side of the Bar, nigh the King on his left-hand. But in this they are to be pardoned, it being the first time they had Kinged it, and therefore it was not to be expected that they should be so ready and exact in their Ceremonies.

H The Scale of Benches (which were covered with Scarlet Bays, and the Foot-steps matted) reaching up from the floor of the Court within 5 or 6 Foot of the very Glazing of the west Window of Westminster-Hall, whereon sate the rest of the Commissioners.

I The Attchivement of the Common-wealth of England.

Which surely the Usurpers had caused there to be fixed, (like the Hand writing on the Wall,) in direct view of the King to let him know, That His Kingdom was numbered and finished, and Monarchy it self abolished. Well hoping at the sight thereof his Royal Countenance would change, and his Knees smite one against the other: But his Sacred Majesty not conscious of, nor dreading any thing, which they had either the Malice, or Impudence to Act, Affront, Affright, or Charge him with, viewed it with his own, to wit, an undaunted, unchangeable Countenance, and with a Majestick gate (Lyon Passant like) made towards the place they had prepared for him at his own leisure, while the Impatient Serjeant at Arms, on the other side the Partition, was fain to attend his Princely Motion with the Mace Shouldered, and who was visibly struck with such Astonishment, that he went Trembling and Quaking, scarce able to support the Mace, or to hold up the Bar to let the King into his Apartment aforesaid, where the King presently sat himself down in the Chair set there for him; and upon all occasions offered him by the Court, always rose up with that Presence of mind, and Princely Meen, that made the Commissioners shamefully hang down their Heads; none of them bearing up, but the Frontless Lord President, who throughout brazened it like the True and Trusty Chief Commissioner of the bold Usurpers, while the King never seemed in the least concerned at what he had to say, or durst to say or do unto him; the King not giving them the Glory or Pleasure to say within themselves, That they had at last made him yield, or at least dismayed him. With which his Princely Courage and Constancy the Spectators on the Scaffolds being justly and highly affected, they could no longer forbear, but burst out into loud Acclamations, God bless your Majesty, God save the King. And which were seconded and returned as loud from the thronged Multitude in the Hall, which made the Commissioners as it were start and look about them, to find themselves thus deceived in the People, it being easie to believe they expected their Crucifixes, and not those Hosannas. Whereupon Order was given to the Cryer, and to the Officers attending in the Hall also, strictly to Charge and Command Silence, which yet did hardly prevail with the People. Oliver

The Explanation of the Court, with some Animadversions.

K Oliver Cromwell } sitting on the { right side } of the Escoccheon or Shield, as the Suppor-
L Henry Martin } sitting on the { left side } ters of the Common-wealth.

I do not remember there was any Escrote or Motto; for how wicked soever, they then thought, *That God* was such an *One as Themselves*, yet did they at present forbear to declare so, they being not then at that Height at which they soon after arrived in their Coyn; The *Blasphemous* Motto whereof [on the Reverse] was, *God with us*.

M The Galleries and Scaffolds on either side the Court thronged with Spectators.

N The Floor of the Court Matted, and kept clear and open, (as here represented) by the Guards on either side, no person being permitted to abide between the King, the Counsel, and the Court, but the known Officers and Messengers, appointed to attend the Court.

Note, That the Level of the Floor of the Court was raised very high from the Ground, and also made close up with Boards from the Ground, about three Foot higher than the Level of the Court Floor; so that the Commissioners (whose safety seems principally Consulted in this new Model) could not be discerned (much less pressed upon) by the Multitude in the Hall, but at some considerable distance. But his Majesties back parts (sitting and standing) were always visible to the People below in the Hall, he being placed as you see on the outer Line of the Pales of the Court.

This Court extended it self in length and depth from the west Window of *Westminster-Hall*, as far as the stone Steps now leading up to the Courts of the *Chancery*, and the *Kings-Bench*, and in Breadth, from Gallery to Gallery, belonging to the said Courts respectively, covering and over-laying both the said Courts.

For the Usurpers thought it not enough to destroy and abolish the ancient Fundamental Laws, the envied *Ornaments of Monarchy*, and the Safeguard both of the King and People. And to commit all the Liberties of *England* to the safe Custody of Keepers of their own appointing; and who were to be Answerable to them for their Escape, unless they also overwhelmed and trod under foot the said Courts also from whence those wholesome Laws were wont duly to be dispensed to the Nation, that their place might no where be found, but for ever be forgotten; for when they had once killed, and taken Possession also, they then deserted and laid desolate those ancient Tribunals, and planted the Courts of their Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, and of their *Upper Bench*, forsooth, along the North side of *Westminster-Hall*, whence they distributed to the enslaved People such Liberties, Priviledges, and Laws, as they thought fit to afford them.

O A Passage (lined with Souldiers on both sides,) leading from the Court of Wards into the High Court of Justice, and through which the Commissioners coming from the Painted Chamber, made their entry into the said Court.

P The Place where the moving Guard with Partizans (who together with the Serjeant at Arms, and a Person carrying the Sword of State or Justice always came along with the Commissioners from the Exchequer Chamber into the Court,) stood, sitting the Court.

Q The place where the moving Guards with Partizans (which always attended the King, from Sir Robert Cotton's House up into the said Court, and back thither again) stood, sitting the Court.

R The passage leading from the Stair head, to the distinct Apartment appointed for the King, as aforesaid.

Note, This passage was (railed and hung with Turkey Carpets, and) always kept Barr'd and Empty, on purpose, as is to be supposed, that none might come near the King to advise, or assist him in any wise.

S 1, 2, 3. The Partition where the Counsel of the Common-wealth, viz. — *Cooke*, — *Dorilaus*, and — *Aske*, stood alone on the Right hand of the King, as he was sitting.

T The Stairs by which the King ascended up into the Court out of *Westminster-Hall*.

U The Passage leading into *Westminster-Hall*, from Sir Robert Cotton's House, where His Majesty was kept under strong Guards, in readiness when the Court should from time to time order him to be brought up.

This Passage was planted thick with Souldiers on both sides, who, as his Majesty passed through them, to and from the Court, were wont to blow their stinking Mundungoes in his Royal Face, without any reproof of their Officers, who at that time durst not distaste the Souldiers, nor appear Guilty of any the least Respects, if they had any for the King; Of which base rudeness, and affront, the King yet made no Complaint, though he gave them to understand he was sensible of it, by his often putting away the offensive smoak with his Hand.

W A large free Passage leading from *Westminster-Hall* gate, straight through the said Hall, within 12 or 14 Foot of the bottom of this Court.

X Another such like passage (going cross the upper end of the last mentioned passage, reaching and extending it self from one side of the said Hall to the other.

Note, both these Passages were strongly Rayled to keep the Multitude (who, when the Court was set, was freely permitted to fill the Hall, between the Rayls and the Wall,) from breaking in upon the Souldiers, who were planted all along within the Rayles, to observe and awe the Multitude, and secure the Court.

In these vacant free Passages the Officers walked to and fro in a readiness, and the Souldiers thus fenced from the Multitude, had the free use and security of their Arms upon all Accidents, and which was thought to be no more than necessary. For how confident soever the said Commissioners might seem to be, yet certainly they had their Fears. Witness (besides all this solemnity of security in view as aforesaid) the Guards in both the Palace Yards, the Guards in Sir Robert Cotton's Garden (Journal Page 18, 19.) The brick-ing up the Door in the passage going out of the Hall towards *Heaven*. The strong Guards in the Courts of Request, and Court of Wards (where no Stranger, upon any terms, was permitted to stay, the Commissioners being to pass through those Guards from the Painted Chamber into the Court; by which it appeared they had Fears within and without, and on every side, else what meant those other Guards also placed above in the Leads on the out side the Hall (and other suspected places) mentioned in the Journal Page 19.) if it were not to prevent the danger, which they feared might otherwise have come from thence upon them; where they sat, indeed, a very fair Mark for any Person that had been but half so bloody-minded as themselves.

Y The thronging Multitudes between the Rayles and the Hall Walls.

Z The Officers walking up and down in the said free Passages (between the Souldiers standing within the Rayles) ready to give the necessary Orders and Commands upon all occasions.

The Pageants of this Mock-Tribunal is thus represented to your view by an Eye and Ear Witness of what he saw and heard there.



R. White Sculp.

*Charles by y^e Grace
of Great Britain
Defender of*



*of God King
France & Ireland
the Faith etc.*



A
JOURNAL
 OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
 OF THE
High Court of Justice,

Read Decem-
 b. xi.
 1650.

ERECTED

By Act of the Commons of England, Intituled, An Act of the Commons of England, Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of CHARLES STUART, King of England. The Tenor whereof followeth, viz.

The Act.

An Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England.

W *Hereas it is notorious, That Charles Stuart, the now King of England, not content with those many Encroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedoms, hath had a wicked Design totally to Subvert the Ancient and Fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government,*

B

and

and that besides all other evil ways and means to bring this Design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with Fire and Sword, Levied and maintained a cruel War in the Land, against the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby the Country hath been miserably wasted, the Publick Treasure Exhausted, Trade decayed, thousands of People murdered, and infinite other mischiefs committed; For all which high and treasonable Offences, the said Charles Stuart might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign Punishment: Whereas also, the Parliament well hoping that the Restraint and Imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the distempers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed Judicially against him; but found by sad Experience, that such their Remisness served only to encourage him and his Complices in the continuance of their evil practices, and in raising of new Commotions, Rebellions and Invasions; for prevention therefore of the like or greater Inconveniences, and to the end no Chief Officer or Magistrate whatsoever may hereafter presume traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive the Enslaving or Destroying of the English Nation, and to expect Impunity for so doing, Be it Ordained and Enacted by the Commons in Parliament, and it is hereby Ordained and Enacted by Authority thereof, That Thomas Lord Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Esquires, Sir Hardress Waller, Knight, Philip Skippon, Valentine Wauton, Thomas Harrison, Edward Whalley, Thomas Pride, Isaac Ewer, Richard Ingoldsby, Henry Mildmay, Esquires, Sir Thomas Honynwood, Thomas Lord Grey of Groby, Philip Lord Lisle, William Lord Mounson, Sir John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maleverer Baronet, Sir John Bouchier, Sir James Harrington, Sir William Allanson, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Thomas Wroth, Knights, Sir William Masham, Sir John Barrington, Sir William Brereton, Baronets, Robert Wallop, William Heveningham, Esquires, Isaac Pennington, Thomas Atkins, Rowland Wilson, Aldermen of the City of London, Sir Peter Wentworth, Knight of the Bath, Henry Martin, William Purefoy, Godfrey Bosvile, John Trenchard, Herbert Morley, John Berkstead, Matthew Tomlinson, John Blackiston, Gilbert Millington, Esquires, Sir William Constable,

stable, *Baronet*, Edmond Ludlow, John Lambert, John Hutchinson, *Esquires*, Sir Arthur Hefilrige, Sir Michael Livesey, *Baronets*, Richard Salwey, Humphry Salwey, Robert Tichbourn, Owen Roe, Robert Manwaring, Robert Lilbourn, Adrian Scroop, Richard Deare, John Okey, Robert Overton, John Hufon, John Desborough, William Goff, Robert Duckenfield, Cornelius Holland, John *Carey, *Esquires*, * This ought to be Carew.
 Sir William Armin, *Baronet*, John Jones, *Esquire*, Miles Corbet, Francis Allen, Thomas Lister, Benjamin Weston, Perigrin Pelham, John Gourdon, *Esquires*, Francis Thorp, *Serjeant at Law*, John Nutt, Thomas Challoner, Algernon Sydney, John Anlaby, John Moore, Richard Darley, VVilliam Say, Joh. *Aldred, * Alured.
 John Fagg, James Nelthorp, *Esquires*, Sir VVilliam Roberts, *Knight*, Francis Lastells, Alexander Rigby, Henry Smith, Edmond VVild, James Challoner, Josias Berners, Dennis Bond, Humphrey Edwards, Gregory Clement, John Fry, Thomas VVogan, *Esquires*, Sir Gregory Norton, *Baronet*, John Bradshaw, *Serjeant at Law*, Edmond Harvey, John Dove, John Ven, *Esquires*, Iohn Fowks, *Alderman of the City of London*, Thomas Scot, *Esquire*, Thomas Andrews, *Alderman of the City of London*, William Cawley, Abraham Burrell, Anthony Stapeley, Roger Gratwick, Iohn Downs, Thomas Horton, Thomas Hammond, George Fenwick, *Esquires*, Robert Nicholas, *Serjeant at Law*, Robert Reynolds, Iohn Lisle, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, *Esquires*, Sir Gilbert Pickering, *Baronet*, Iohn Weaver, Roger Hill, Iohn Lenthall, *Esquires*, Sir Edward Banton, Iohn Corbet, Thomas Blunt, Thomas Boon, Augustine Garland, Augustine Skinner, Iohn Dixwell, George Fleetwood, Simon Meyne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blaggrave, *Esquires*, Sir Peter Temple, *Knight and Baronet*, Thomas VVayte, Iohn Brown, Iohn Lowry, *Esquires*,
 Shall be, and are hereby Appointed and Required to be Commissioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying and Adjudging of the said Charles Stuart. And the said Commissioners or any Twenty or more of them, shall be, and are hereby Authorized and Constituted an High Court of Justice to meet and sit at such

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convenient time and place as by the said Commissioners or the major part of twenty or more of them under their Hands and Seals shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall or Palace-Yard at VWestminster, and to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said High Court or major part thereof meeting shall hold fit; and to take order for the charging of him the said Charles Stuart with the Crimes and Treasons abovementioned; and for the receiving of his personal Answer thereunto, and for the examination of Witnesses upon Oath, which the Court hath hereby Authority to administer, or otherwise, and taking any other Evidence concerning the same, and thereupon, or in default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence, according to Justice, and the merit of the Cause, and such final Sentence to execute or cause to be executed speedily and impartially. And the said Court is hereby Authorized and required to appoint and direct all such Officers, Attendants and other circumstances as they or the major part of them shall in any sort Judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good managing of the premises. And Thomas Lord Fairfax the General, and all Officers and Soldiers under his command, and all Officers of Justice, and other well affected persons are hereby Authorized and required to be aiding and assisting unto the said Court in the due Execution of the Trust hereby committed. Provided, That this Act, and the Authority hereby granted; do continue in force, for the space of one Month from the making hereof, and no longer.

Hen. Scobell Cler. Par. Dom. Com.

In pursuance of which said Act, the House of Commons Ordered as followeth, viz. Die Sabbati, 6. Jan. 1648.

ORdered by the Commons Assembled in Parliament, That the Commissioners nominated in the Act for Erecting of an High Court of Justice for the Trying and Iudging of Charles Stuart, King of England, do meet on Monday next, at two of the Clock in the afternoon, in the Painted Chamber.

By

By virtue of which said recited Act, and of the said Order grounded thereupon, the Commissioners whose Names are here under-written, met on *Monday*, the said eighth day of *January*, 1648. in the said *Painted Chamber*, at *Westminster*, where the said Act was openly read, and the Court called.

Commissioners Present.

Thomas Lord Fairfax.
Oliver Cromwell, Esq;
Henry Ireton, Esq;
Sir Hardress Waller.
Valentine Wauton.
Edward Whaley.
Thomas Pride.
Isaac Ewers.
Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.
Peter Temple, Esq;
John Ven, Esq;
Thomas Challoner, Esq;
Henry Martin, Esq;
John Berkstead, Esq;
Gilbert Millington, Esq;
Richard Deane, Esq;
Cornelius Holland, Esq;
John Jones, Esq;
John Aldred, Esq;
Henry Smith, Esq;
John Lisle, Esq;
James Temple, Esq;
Adrian Scroope, Esq;
Edmond Ludlow, Esq;
John Huson, Esq;
Thomas Harrison, Esq;
Nicholas Love, Esq;

Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Tho Maleverer, Bar.
Sir John Bouchier.
Sir Henry Mildmay.
James Challoner, Esq;
Gregory Clement, Esq;
John Fry, Esq;
Augustine Garland, Esq;
Daniel Blagrove, Esq;
Robert Tichbourn, Esq;
Wil. Heveningham, Esq;
William Purefoy, Esq;
John Blackistone, Esq;
William Lord Mounson.
John Okey, Esq;
John Carew, Esq;
Peregrine Pelham, Esq;
Francis Lassells, Esq;
John Downs, Esq;
John Brown, Esq;
John Hutchinson, Esq;
Miles Corbet, Esq;
Humphrey Edwards, Esq;
Edmond Harvy, Esq;
William Goff, Esq;

The Commissioners of the Court being as aforesaid, met, and informing themselves of the tenor of their Commission, they accordingly appoint the said Court to be holden in the same place, on *Wednesday*, the Tenth of the said Month of *January*, and ordered Proclamation thereof to be made in the great Hall at *Westminster*, by *Edward Dendy Serjeant at Arms*, Authorizing him thereunto by Precept under their Hands and Seals, in these words following, viz.

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By

By Virtue of an Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament for erecting of an High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart King of England, we whose Names are hereunder written (being Commissioners, amongst others nominated in the said Act) do hereby appoint, That the High Court of Justice mentioned in the said Act, shall be holden in the Painted Chamber, in the Palace of Westminster on Wednesday the tenth day of this instant January, by One of the Clock in the afternoon ; and this we do appoint to be Notified by Publique Proclaiming hereof in the great Hall at Westminster, to morrow being the Ninth day of this Instant January, betwixt the hours of Nine and Eleven in the Forenoon. In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals this eight day of January, Anno Domini 1648.

We the Commissioners whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, do hereby Authorize and Appoint Edward Dendy Serjeant at Arms, to cause this to be Proclaimed according to the Tenor thereof, and to make due Return of the same with this Precept to the said Court at the time and place above-mentioned.

Sealed and Subscribed by

*William Monson.
Tho. Grey.
Oliver Cromwell.
Gregory Norton.
Henry Ireton.
H. Edwards.
John Hutchinson.
Har. Waller.
William Constable.
John Lisle.
Henry Martin.
Valentine Wauton.
John Blackstone.
Gilbert Millington.
Adrian Scroope.
James Temple.
James Chaloner.
Thomas Harrison.
John Jones.*

*John Hnson.
Peregr. Pelham.
Edward Ludlow.
John Berkstead.
Peter Temple.
Edw. Whaley.
John Okey.
Rob. Tichbourn.
Thomas Pride.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Maleverer.
Thomas Challoner.
John Fry.
John Bouchier.
John Carew.
Aug. Gayland.
Richard Deane.
Daniel Blagrove.*

Which

Which said Precept is thus returned on the Backside, *viz.* I have caused due Proclamation to be made hereof according to the tenor of the Precept within written.

E. Dendy, Serjeant at Arms.

And in order to the more regular and due proceedings of the said Court, they nominate Officers, and accordingly chose Mr. *Aske*, Dr. *Doriflaus*, Mr. *Steel*, and Mr. *Cooke* Councel, to attend the said Court, Mr. *Greaves* and Mr. *John Phelpes*, Clerks, to whom notice thereof was ordered to be given.

Mr. *Edward Walford*, Mr. *John Powel*, Mr. *John King*, Mr. *Phineas Payne*, and Mr. *Hull* are chosen Messengers to attend this Court.

January the Ninth, 1648. According to the Precept of the Eighth instant, Serjeant *Dendy* made Proclamation for the sitting of the said Court, in manner following, *viz.*

About Ten of the clock of the same day, the said Serjeant being attended with six Trumpets, and a Guard of two Troops of Horse, himself with them on horseback, bearing his Mace, rideth into the middle of *Westminster-Hall* (the Court of *Chancery* then sitting at a general Seal) where, after the said Trumpets founding (the Drums then likewise beating in the *Palace-yard*) he causeth the said Precept to be openly read, which being done, the House of Commons at the same time sitting, Order as followeth,

Die Martis, 9 Januarii, 1648.

Ordered by the Commons Assembled in Parliament, that the same Proclamation that was made this Morning in *Westminster-Hall* touching the Tryal of the King, be made at the Old Exchange, and in *Cheapside*, forthwith, and in the same manner, and that Serjeant *Dendy*, the Serjeant at Arms, do Proclaim the same accordingly, and that the Guard that lieth in *Pauls*, do see the same done.

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In pursuance whereof Serjeant Dendy about twelve of the clock of the same day, accompanied with ten Trumpets and Two Troops of Horse, drawn out for that purpose in *Paul's Church-Yard*, himself mounted, bearing his Mace, they all march from thence unto the *Old Exchange, London*, where after the Trumpets had sounded, he maketh Proclamation as he had done before in *Westminster-Hall*: And from thence they immediately march to *Cheapside*, making the like Proclamation there also, in manner as aforesaid; during all which time the Streets are throng'd with Spectators, without the least violence, injury or affront publicly done or offered.

Mercurii, 10 Januarii, 1648. Commissioners present, *Painted Chamber.*

Oliver Cromwell, Esq;
Henry Ireton, Esq;
Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.
Valentine Wauton, Esq;
Edward Whaley, Esq;
Thomas Harrison, Esq;
Thomas Pride, Esq;
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.
James Challoner.
Sir John Danvers.
John Fry.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Augustine Garland.
Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave.
John Ven.
Henry Martin.
William Purefoy.
John Blackstone.
Gilbert Millington.
Edmond Ludlow.
John Hutchinson.
John Corbet.

Robert Tichbourne, Esq;
Owen Roe, Esq;
John Dean, Esq;
John Hason, Esq;
Cornelius Holland, Esq;
John Carew, Esq;
Thomas Lister, Esq;
Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight.
Thomas Challoner, Esq;
Peregrine Pelham, Esq;
John Moor, Esq;
William Say, Esq;
Francis Lassells, Esq;
Henry Smith, Esq;
Thomas Scot, Esq;
Nicholas Love, Esq;
Vincent Potter, Esq;
Adrian Scroope, Esq;
John Dixwell, Esq;
John Lisle, Esq;
John Okey, Esq;
John Berkstead, Esq;

The Court being sat in the Place aforesaid, began to take into consideration the manner and order that they intended to observe at the Kings Tryal, and appointed two Ushers of the Court, viz. Mr. *Edward Walford*

Walford and *Mr. Vowell*, and *Mr. Litchman* was chosen a Messenger of this Court.

John Bradshaw Serjeant at Law a Commissioner of this Court, was then chosen President of the said Court, who being absent, *Mr. Say* one of the Commissioners then present, was appointed President *Pro tempore*, and untill the said Serjeant *Bradshaw* should attend the said Service, the said *Mr. Say* accordingly took his place, and gave the thanks of this Court to *Mr. Garland*, one of the Commissioners of this Court, for his great pains by him formerly taken about the business of this Court.

The Court were informed of the great and important Imployment that at present lay upon *Mr. Greaves* in the behalf of the *Commonwealth*, from which he cannot be spared without prejudice to the Publique; and it was therefore moved in his behalf that he might be Excused from attending the service of one of the Clerks of the said Court, which the Court admitted as a sufficient Excuse, and thereupon *Mr. Andrew Broughton* was named and appointed one of the Clerks of this Court with *John Phelpes*, the said *John Phelpes* being then sent for by a Messenger of the Court, and accordingly making his appearance, was commanded to attend the said service, who attended the same accordingly, and a Messenger of the Court was sent to Summon the said *Mr. Broughton*.

Mr. Aske, *Mr. Steel*, *Dr. Dorislaus* and *Mr. Cooke* are appointed Council in the behalf of the *Commonwealth*, to prepare and prosecute the Charge against the King according to the Act of the Commons Assembled in Parliament in that behalf, and in particular, the Court did appoint *Mr. Steel*, Attorney, and *Mr. Cooke*, Solicitor, to take care thereof. And the Act for Constituting the said Court, was ordered to be transcribed, and delivered to the said Council; which was done accordingly.

Mr. Love, *Mr. Lisle*, *Mr. Millington*, *Mr. Garland*, *Mr. Marten*, *Mr. Tho. Challoner*, *Sir John Danvers*, and *Sir Henry Mildmay*, or any two of them are appointed a Committee to consider of all circumstances in mat-

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ter of order and method for the carrying on and managing the Kings Tryal, and for that purpose to advise with the Councel assigned, to prove the Charge against the King, and to make Report therein, the next Sitting, and the care of the business is particularly recommended to Mr. *Love*.

Edward Dendy Serjeant at Arms, made return of the Precept of the Eighth instant, for Proclaiming the Sitting of the Court, which was received; the said Serjeant *Dendy* having Proclaimed the same by the sound of Trumpet in *Westminster Hall*, as also at the *Old Exchange*, and in *Cheapside*.

Edward Dendy Serjeant at Arms, is appointed Serjeant at Arms, to attend the said Court; Mr. *John King* is appointed Cryer of the said Court.

The Court having thus made preparations for the said Tryal (during all which time they sate private) the doors are now opened for all parties, that had any thing to do there to give their attendance.

Three Proclamations being made by the Cryer, the A& for constituting the said Court, was openly read, and the Court called, the Commissioners present, were as before-named.

The Commissioners that were absent, were ordered to be summoned to attend the said Service, and Summons were issued forth accordingly.

The Court Adjourned it self till *Fryday*, Jan. 12th. at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, to the same place.

Jan.

Januarii 12, 1648.

At which time the Commissioners Present were as
after-named.

Die Veneris, 12 Januarii, 1648. Painted Chamber.

Commissioners Present.

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|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Oliver Cromwell, Esq; | Thomas Pride, Esq; |
| Sir John Danvers. | John Lisle, Esq; |
| Thomas Hammond, Esq; | Owen Roe, Esq; |
| Peregr. Pelham, Esq; | Thomas Scot, Esq; |
| Herbert Morley, Esq; | John Jones, Esq; |
| James Temple, Esq; | John Carew, Esq; |
| William Say, Esq; | John Fagg, Esq; |
| John Hason, Esq; | Henry Marten, Esq; |
| Sir John Bourchier, Kt. | John Blackstone, Esq; |
| John Bradshaw, Serj. at Law. | John Dove, Esq; |
| Gilbert Millington, Esq. | Henry Smith, Esq; |
| John Moore, Esq; | John Ven, Esq; |
| John Brown, Esq; | John Downs, Esq; |
| John Fry, Esq; | Nicholas Love, Esq; |
| Sir Hardress Waller, Kt. | Thomas Harrison, Esq; |
| Adrian Scroope, Esq; | John Berkstead, Esq; |
| Thomas Challoner, Esq; | With divers more. |

Serjeant *Bradshaw*, upon special Summons, attended this Court, being one of the Commissioners thereof, and being according to former Order, called to take his place of President of the said Court, made an earnest Apology for himself to be excused ; but therein not prevailing, in obedience to the Commands and Desires of this Court, he submitted to their Order, and took place accordingly ; and thereupon the said Court Ordered concerning him as followeth, *viz.* That John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, who is appointed President of this Court, should be called by the Name, and have the Title of Lord President, and that as well without, as within the said Court, during the Commission and Sitting of the said Court : Against which Title he pressed much to be heard to offer his Exceptions, but was therein over-ruled by the Court.

Mr.

Mr. *Andrew Broughton* attended according to former Order, and it was thereupon again Ordered, That *Andrew Broughton* and *John Phelpes Gent.* be, and they are hereby constituted Clerks of the said Court, and enjoyned to give their Attendance, from time to time accordingly.

Ordered, That the Council assigned, or such as They, or any of Them shall appoint, shall have power to search for all Records and Writings concerning the King's Tryal, and to take into their custody, or order the producing of all such Records, and Papers, or Copies thereof, by any Clerk or other Person whatsoever, at or before the said Tryal, as they shall judge requisite, the Said Council giving a Note under their Hands of their Receipt of all such Original Books, and Papers, which they shall so take into their custody. And that the said Council shall have power to send for such person or persons at or before the said Tryal, and to appoint by Writing under their Hands, their Attendance for the Service of the State in this Business, as they shall think requisite, requiring all Persons concerned, to yield Obedience thereunto at their perils.

Sir *Hardress VValler Knight*, and Col. *Harrison* are Ordered to desire the Lord General from time to time to appoint sufficient Guards, to attend and guard the said Court during their Sitting.

Ordered, That Col. *Tichbourne*, Col. *Roe*, Mr. *Blackstone*, and Mr. *Fry*, Members of this Court, shall and do make Preparations for the Tryal of the King, That it may be performed in a Solemn Manner; and that they take care for other necessary Provisions and Accommodations in and about that Tryal, and are to appoint and command such Workmen in and to their Assistance, as they shall think fit.

Mr. *Love* Reporteth from the Committee appointed Jan. 10th. instant, to consider of the Circumstances in Matters of Order for Tryal of the King: And it is thereupon Ordered, That in managing the Proceedings in Open Court at the time of the King's Tryal, none of the Court do speak, but the President and Council, and in case of any Difficulty arising to
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any one, that he speak not to the Matter openly, but desire the President that the Court may please to Advise. By which Order, it is not intended that any of the Commissioners be debarred at the Examination of any Witnesses, to move the Lord President to propound such Question to the Witnesses as shall be thought meet for the better disquisition and finding out of the Truth.

Ordered, That there shall be a Marshal to attend this Court, if there be cause.

Ordered, That the Lord President and Council do manage the Tryal against the King, according to Instructions to be given them by the Court; and that the Committee for considering of all circumstances for the managing of the King's Trial, do consider of Rules and Instructions in that behalf, and are to consult with the Council, and address themselves to the Lord President for Advice in the Premises.

Ordered, That the Council do bring in the Charge against the King on Monday next.

The Committee for considering of the Circumstances of Order for the King's Trial, together with Sir Hardress Waller, Col. Whaley, Mr. Scot, Col. Tichbourne, Col. Harrison, Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, and Col. Deane, are appointed to consider of the place for Trying the King, and make Report to morrow in the Afternoon, and are to meet to morrow Morning in the Inner Court of Wards, at Nine of the Clock, and who else of the Court please may be there.

The Court Adjourned it self till the Morrow in the Afternoon at Two of the Clock.

Sabbathi, 13 Jan. 1648.

Proclamation being made, and all Parties Concerned, required to give Attendance, the Court is called openly.

Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord President* of this Court.

Oliver Cromwel, Esq;

Henry Ireton, Esq;

Sir Hardres Waller, Kt.

Edward Whaley, Esq;

Thomas Pride, Esq;

Isaac Ewer, Esq;

Sir John Danvers.

Sir Gregory Norton.

William Purefoy, Esq;

John Blackstone, Esq;

Gilbert Millington, Esq;

Sir William Constable, Bar.

John Hutchinson, Esq;

William Goff, Esq;

Cornelius Holland, Esq;

John Carew, Esq;

Thomas Challoner, Esq;

Algernon Sydney, Esq;

William Say, Esq;

John Fagg, Esq;

Francis Lassels, Esq;

Valentine Wanton, Esq;

Henry Smith, Esq;

Humphrey Edwards, Esq;

John Fry, Esq;

Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.

William Heveningham, Esq;

John Dove, Esq;

John Venn, Esq;

Tho. Scot, Esq;

John Downes, Esq;

Adrian Scroope, Esq;

John Lisle, Esq;

Augustine Garland, Esq;

John Dixwell, Esq;

Daniel Blagrove, Esq;

John Browne, Esq;

The Court being to make further preparations for the King's Tryal, sit private. The Serjeant at Arms is Authorized to employ such other Messengers as shall be needful for the service of the Court, giving in their Names to the Clerks of this Court.

Ordered, That the Serjeant at Arms do search and secure the Vaults under the Painted Chamber, taking such Assistance therein from the Souldiery as shall be needful.

Mr. Garland reporteth from the Committee for considering of the place for the King's Trial; and the Court thereupon Ordered, That the said Tryal of the King shall be in Westminster-Hall; That the Place for the King's Tryal, shall be where the Courts of King's Bench and Chan-

Chancery, sit in Westminster-Hall, and that the Partitions between the said two Courts, be therefore taken down; and that the Committee for making Preparations for the King's Tryal, are to take care thereof accordingly.

The Court Adjourned it self till Monday at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, to this Place.

Lunæ, 15 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations are made, and all Parties concerned, are required to give Attendance.

The Court is called openly

Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

John Dean, Esq;

John Berkstead, Esq;

Isaac Ewer, Esq;

Robert Lilbourn, Esq;

Thomas Hamond, Esq;

Edward Whaley, Esq;

Thomas Pride, Esq;

Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.

William Lord Mounson.

Sir John Danvers.

Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.

Sir Tho. Wroth.

Robert Wallop, Esq;

Henry Martin, Esq;

William Purefoy, Esq;

Gilbert Millington, Esq;

Edmond Ludlow, Esq;

John Hutchinson, Esq;

Adrian Scroope, Esq;.

John Okey, Esq;

John Huson, Esq;

Peregrine Pelham, Esq;

Thomas Challoner, Esq;

John Moore, Esq;

John Aldred, Esq;

Henry Smith, Esq;

James Challoner, Esq;

Humphrey Edwards, Esq;

Vincent Potter, Esq;

Augustine Garland, Esq;

James Temple, Esq;

Daniel Blagrove, Esq;

John Blackistone, Esq;

Oliver Cromwell, Esq;

Robert Tichbourne, Esq;

John Jones, Esq;

John Downs, Esq;

Sir Hardress Waller.

Thomas Horton, Esq;

Henry Ireton, Esq;

Algernon Sydney, Esq;

Peter Temple, Esq;

Nicholas Love, Esq;

Valentine Wauton, Esq;

John Lisle, Esq;

John Venn, Esq;

Cornelius Holland, Esq;

Thomas Scot, Esq;

Sir William Constable, Bar.

Herbert Morley, Esq;

Miles Corbet, Esq;

John Fry, Esq;

William Goff, Esq;

John Fagg, Esq;

John Carew, Esq;

Sir Henry Mildmay,

Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.

58 Commissioners present.

Here the Court sit private.

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The Council attended, and presented to the Court the Draught of a Charge against the King : which being read, the Court appointed Commissary General Ireton, Mr. Millington, Mr. Marten, Col. Harvey, Mr. Challoner, Col. Harrison, Mr. Miles Corbet, Mr. Scot, Mr. Love, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Say, or any three of them to be a Committee, to whom the Council might resort for their further Advice concerning any thing of difficulty in relation to the Charge against the King ; who were likewise with the Council to compare the Charge against him, with the Evidence, and to take care for the preparing and fitting the Charge for the Courts more clear Proceedings in the Busineses ; as likewise to advise of such general Rules as are fit for the Expediting the Business of the said Court, and to meet the Morrow Morning at Eight of the Clock in the *Queens Court*.

Col. Ludlow, Col. Purefoy, Col. Hutchinson, Col. Scroope, Col. Deane, Col. Whalley, Col. Hufon, Col. Pride, Sir Hardres Waller, Sir William Constable, together with the Committee for making Preparations for the King's Tryal, or any three of them are appointed a Committee to consider of the manner of bringing the King to the Court at his Tryal, and of the Place where he shall be kept and lodge at, during his said Tryal ; and to take consideration of the secure Sitting of the said Court, and placing the Guards that shall attend it, and are to meet to morrow morning at Eight of the clock in the *Inner Star-Chamber*.

The Court taking Notice of the Nearness of *Hilary-Term*, and necessity they apprehended of Adjourning it in regard of the King's Tryal, thereupon were of Opinion, that it is fit that a Fortnight of the said Term be Adjourned, and Mr. Lisle is desired to move the House therein.

Three Proclamations

The Court Adjourned it self till *Wednesday* next at Eight in the Morning.

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Mercurii, 17 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations are made, and all Parties concerned, are required to give Attendance.

The Court is called.

Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq;

Edward Whaley, Esq;

Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.

Sir John Danvers.

Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.

Sir Hardress Waller.

John Blackistone, Esq;

John Berkstead, Esq;

Sir William Constable.

John Hutchinson.

Robert Tichbourne.

Owen Roe.

Adrian Scroope.

Richard Deane.

John Okey.

John Hufon.

Augustine Garland.

Simon Meyne.

Peter Temple.

John Brown.

Thomas Scot.

Thomas Lister.

John Jones.

Vincent Potter.

Daniel Blagrove.

William Say.

Nicholas Love.

Robert Lilbourne.

William Goffe.

John Carew.

Thomas Pride.

Francis Allen.

Peregrine Pelham.

John Moore.

Francis Lassels.

Henry Smith.

James Challoner.

Humphrey Edwards.

John Fry.

Sir Gregory Norton.

John Venn.

William Cawley.

Thomas Horton.

Thomas Hammond.

Isaac Ewers.

Cornelius Holland.

Sir John Bouchier.

Edmond Ludlow.

Edmond Harvey.

Edmond Wild.

Thomas Heath.

William Heveningham.

Henry Marten.

William Purefoy.

John Lisle.

56 Commissioners present.

Ordered, That the Commissioners of this Court, who have not hitherto appeared, be summoned by Warrants under the Hands of the Clerks of this Court, to give their Personal Attendance at this Court, to perform the Service to which they are by Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, appointed and required.

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Ordered,

Ordered, *That the Serjeant at Arms attending this Court, or his Deputy do forthwith Summon all the aforesaid Commissioners making default, who reside or dwell within twenty Miles of London.*

Particular Warrants to every one of them, were accordingly issued forth for their Attendance.

Upon Report made by Col. Hutchinson, from the Committee to consider of the manner of bringing the King to Tryal, &c. the Court Order as followeth, viz.

Ordered, *That Sir Robert Cotton's House be the place where the King shall lodge during his Tryal.*

That, the Chamber in Sir Robert Cotton's House next the Study, there shall be the King's Bed-Chamber.

That, the Great Chamber before the said Lodging-Chamber, be for the King's Dining-Room, and that a Guard consisting of Thirty Officers and other choice Men, do always attend the King; who are to attend him at his Lodging above Stairs, and that Two of the said Thirty do always attend in his Bed-Chamber.

That, Place for a Court of Guard for 200 Foot-Soldiers, be built in Sir Robert Cotton's Garden, near the Water-side.

That, Ten Companies of Foot be constantly upon the Guards for securing Sir Robert Cotton's House, and those Companies to be Quartered in the Court of Requests, the Painted Chamber, and other necessary Places thereabouts.

That, the Passage that cometh out of the Old Palace into Westminster-Hall, be made up at the Entrance of the said Passage next the said Guard.

That, the top of the Stairs at the Court of Wards Door, have a cross Barr made to it.

That, the King be brought out of Sir Robert Cotton's House to his Tryal, the lower way into Westminster-Hall, and so brought to the Barr in the Face of the Court, attended by the above-said Guard above Stairs.

That, Two Rayls of about forty foot distance from the Place where this Court shall Sit in Westminster-Hall, be made cross the said Hall; for the effectual and substantial doing whereof, this Court do refer it to the care of the Committee appointed to consider of the manner of bringing the
King

King to Tryal; who are likewise to take care for raising the Floor in such part of the Hall as they shall think fit, for placing of the Guards; and that a Rayl or Rayls from the Court down to the Hall-Gate, be made in such manner as they shall think fit on the Common-Pleas side, to keep the People from the Soldiers.

That, there be Guards set upon the Leads, and other places that have Windows to look into the Hall.

That, the General be desired from time to time to send and appoint convenient Guards of Horse for the convenient Sitting of the Court.

That, Twenty Officers, or other Gentlemen do attend upon the Lord President from time to time, to and from this Court through Westminster-Hall.

That, the Officers of the Ordnance do send unto this Court 200 Halberts or Partizans lying within the Tower of London, for the Arming of the Guards that are to attend this Court.

That, at the time of the Tryal of the King, the Commissioners do before their Sitting in the Court, meet in the Exchequer-Chamber, and do from thence come up the Hall into the Court.

That, all Back-doors from the House called Hell, be stopt up during the Kings Tryal.

That, Lodgings be prepared for the Lord President at Sir Abraham Williams's House in the New Palace-Yard, during the Sitting of this Court, and that all Provisions and Necessaries be provided for his Lordship.

That, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Holland, and Mr. Edwards do take care for providing all Provisions and Necessaries for the King, during his Tryal.

That, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Holland, and Mr. Edwards do likewise take care for all Necessaries for the Lord President.

Ordered, That the Committee for considering of the manner of bringing the King to Tryal, do consider what Habits the Officers of this Court shall have, who are to advise with some Heralds at Arms therein, and concerning the Ordering of the said Officers.

That, a Sword be carried before the Lord President at the Tryal of the King.

That,

That, *John Humphreys, Esq;* do bear the *Sword* before the Lord President.

That, a *Mace* or *Maces* together with a *Sword*, be likewise carried before the Lord President.

This Court doth Adjourn it self to Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Jan. 17. 1648. Post Meridiem.*

Three Proclamations.

The Court is cleared of Strangers, and they sit private.

The Charge against the King, is presented by the Council, and Ordered to be re-committed to the Committee appointed for Advice with the Council concerning the Charge against the King, who are to contract the same, and fit it for the Courts proceeding thereupon, according to the Act of Parliament in that behalf. And the same Committee are likewise to take care for the King's coming to *Westminster* to Tryal at such time as to them shall seem meet, and Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwell* is added to the said Committee, and the Council are to attend this Court with the said Charge to morrow at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon; and thereupon,

Ordered, *That the Committee for Considering of the manner of bringing the King to Tryal, do meet to Morrow Morning at Eight of the Clock in the Exchequer-Chamber.*

The Court Adjourned it self till the Morrow at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, to the same Place.

Jouis,

Jovis, 18 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations made.

Commissioners Present.

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|---|-----------------------------|
| <i>John Bradshaw</i> , Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court. | |
| <i>Oliver Cromwell</i> . | <i>John Hufon</i> . |
| <i>Edward Whalley</i> . | <i>Thomas Pride</i> . |
| <i>Tho. Lord Grey of Groby</i> . | <i>William Cavley</i> . |
| <i>Sir John Danvers</i> . | <i>Henry Smith</i> . |
| <i>Sir Thomas Maleverer</i> , Bar. | <i>Peter Temple</i> . |
| <i>Sir Hardress Waller</i> . | <i>Thomas Wogan</i> . |
| <i>John Berkstead</i> . | <i>George Fleetwood</i> . |
| <i>John Blackistone</i> . | <i>Francis Laffels</i> . |
| <i>Sir William Constable</i> . | <i>Adrian Scroope</i> . |
| <i>John Hutchinson</i> . | <i>Peregrine Pelham</i> . |
| <i>Robert Tichbourne</i> . | <i>John Fry</i> . |
| <i>Cornelius Holland</i> . | <i>Sir Gregory Norton</i> . |
| <i>John Moore</i> . | <i>Humphrey Edwards</i> . |
| <i>Richard Deane</i> . | <i>John Venn</i> . |
| <i>John Okey</i> . | <i>William Purefoy</i> . |
| <i>Thomas Hammond</i> . | <i>Simon Meyne</i> . |
| <i>John Carew</i> . | <i>John Browne</i> . |
| <i>William L. Mounson</i> . | <i>Herbert Morley</i> . |

Here the Court sit private.

Col. *Tichbourne*, one of the Commissioners of this Court, informeth the Court, that he was with Mr. *Steel*, Attorney of this Court, and found him in his Bed very sick, and by reason thereof, not like to attend, as yet, the Service of this Court according to former Order; and desired him the said Colonel, to signify, that he the said Mr. *Steel* no way declineth the Service of the said Court, out of any disaffection to it, but professeth himself to be so clear in the Business, that if it should please God to restore him, he should manifest his good Affection to the said Cause, and that it is an addition to his Affliction, that he cannot attend this Court, to do that Service that they have expected from him, and as he desires to perform.

The Court Adjourned it self till to morrow Two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

G

Veneris,

Veneris, 19 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations. *The Court called openly.*

The Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

*Henry Ireton.
Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.
Thomas Harrison.
Edward Whalley.
Isaac Ewers.
William Lord Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer Bar.
Sir John Bourchier, Kt.
William Heweningham.
William Purefoy.
John Barkstead
John Blackistone.
Gilbert Millington.
John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.
Robert Tichbourne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilbourne.
Adrian Scroope.
Richard Deane.
John Hufon.
Cormelius Holland.
John Jones.*

*Peregr. Pelham.
Thomas Challoner.
Algernon Sydney.
William Say.
Francis Lassells.
Henry Smith.
Humphrey Edwards.
John Fry.
Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.
John Dove.
Thomas Scot.
William Cawley.
Thomas Horton.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Vincent Potter.
John Dixwell.
Simon Meyne.
Peter Temple.
John Brown.
John Okey.
William Goffe.
John Carew.*

Here the Court fate private.

Col. *Hutchinson* Reporteth from the Committee appointed to consider of the Habits of the Officers, and it is thereupon,

Ordered, That Three Gowns be Provided for three Ushers, and Three Cloaks for Three Messengers of this Court.

Mr. *Millington* reporteth from the Committee for Advice with the Councel concerning the Charge against

gainst the King, that the Councel have perfected the Charge, and are ready to present it. He likewise reporteth the Draught of an Order, whereby the Charge may, by the Command of this Court, be exhibited together with a Form of Words; the Effect whereof the Committee think fit to be pronounced by him that this Court shall appoint so to exhibit the said Charge: Which said Order and Form of Words the Court have with some Alterations agreed unto, as followeth;

It is Ordered, *That Mr. Attorney, and in his absence, Mr. Solicitor do in the behalf of the People of England, exhibit and bring into this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes against CHARLES STUART King of England, and charge him thereupon in the behalf aforesaid.*

The Form of Words are as followeth;

My Lord,

According to an Order of this High Court to me directed for that purpose, I do, in the Name, and on the behalf of the People of England, exhibit and bring into this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes, whereof I do accuse CHARLES STUART King of England, here present. And I do, in the Name, and on the behalf aforesaid, desire the said Charge may be received accordingly, and due Proceedings had thereupon.

The Councel likewise, according to Mr. Millington's Report, present a Draught of the Charge against the King; which was read the first, and second, and third time, and referred back to the said Councel, to make some small Amendments as to the Form thereof.

Ordered, *That Commissary Gen. Ireton, Col. Whalley, Col. Harrison, Sir Hardreſ Waller, or any two of them, do appoint the Thirty Persons that are by Order of the 17th. Instant, to attend the King, and the Twenty that are to attend the Lord President.*

Ordered,

Ordered, *That the Serjeant at Arms do secure Mr. Squibb's Gallery by such ways and means as he shall conceive meet.*

The Court Adjourned it self till Nine of the Clock to morrow morning.

Sabbathi, 20 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations, and Attendance commanded.

Ordered, *That Sir Henry Mildmay be desired to deliver unto John Humphreys Esq; the Sword of State in his Custody; which said Sword the said Mr. Humphreys is to bear before the Lord President of this Court.*

The Court being sate as aforesaid, before they engaged in further Business, the Serjeant at Arms of the House of Commons came thither, and acquainted the Court, that the House wanted their Members that were of that Court; the Court thereupon Adjourned till twelve of the Clock the same day.

The Court accordingly met at twelve of the Clock.

Three Proclamations made.

Commissioners present.

Painted Chamber, 20 Jan. 1648.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Tho. L. Grey of Groby.

Henry Martin.

Oliver Crowwell.

Henry Ireton.

Augustine Garland.

Thomas Challoner.

Nicholas Love.

William Cawley.

John Venn.

William Purefoy.

John Barkstead.

James Challoner.

Peter Temple.

Tho. Harrison.

Robert Tichbourne.

John Hutchinson.

Sir Gregory Norton.

Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.

Daniel Blagrove.

Owen Roe.

Thomas Wogan.

William Say.

Francis Lassels.

John Jones.

Sir John Bourchier.

John Carew.

John

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| <i>John Dewnes.</i> | <i>Valentine Wanton.</i> |
| <i>John Fry.</i> | <i>Tho. Hamond.</i> |
| <i>Sir Michael Livesey.</i> | <i>James Temple.</i> |
| <i>Sir John Danvers.</i> | <i>Peregrine Pelham.</i> |
| <i>Mr. Millington.</i> | <i>Thomas Lister.</i> |
| <i>Sir Hardres Waller.</i> | <i>Edmond Ludlow.</i> |
| <i>John Blakistone.</i> | <i>Simon Meyne.</i> |
| <i>John Huson.</i> | <i>Thomas Scot.</i> |
| <i>Humphrey Edwards.</i> | <i>Edmond Harvy.</i> |
| <i>Isaac Pennington Ald. of Lond.</i> | <i>William Lord Mounson.</i> |
| <i>John Brown.</i> | <i>Henry Smith.</i> |
| <i>Edw. Whalley.</i> | <i>Sir William Constable.</i> |
| <i>John Okey.</i> | <i>Isaac Ewers.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Pride.</i> | <i>Sir Henry Mildmay.</i> |
| <i>Adrian Scroope.</i> | <i>Anthony Stapeley.</i> |

Here the Court fate private.

Ordered, That the Form and Method of the Courts Proceeding unto, and in the reading of the Commission by which they Sit, sending for, and bringing in the Prisoner to the Bar, acquainting him in brief with the cause of his bringing thither, receiving and reading the Charge, and demanding what the Prisoner says thereto, be referred to the discretion of the Lord President; as also, That in case the Prisoner shall in Language or Carriage towards the Court, be insolent, outrageous, or contemptuous, that it be left to the Lord President to reprehend him therefore, and admonish him of his Duty, or to command the taking away of the Prisoner, and if he see cause, to withdraw or adjourn the Court. But as to the Prisoners putting off his Hat, the Court will not insist upon it for this day; and that if the King desire time to Answer, the Lord President is to give him time.

Ordered, Upon the Lord President's Desire and Motion, That Mr. Lisle and Mr. Say, Commissioners of this Court, be Assistants to the Lord President; and for that purpose, it is Ordered, that they sit near the Lord President in Court.

Mr. Solicitor presented the Charge against the King ingrossed in Parchment, which was read, and being by Mr. Solicitor Signed, was returned to him to be exhibited against the King, in his presence in open Court. And thereupon the Court Adjourned it self forthwith to the Great Hall in Westminster.

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The

The Manner of the Tryal of Charles Stuart King of England.

ON Saturday, being the 20th. Day of January, 1648. the Lord President of the High Court of Justice, his two Assistants, and the rest of the Commissioners of the said Court, according to the Adjournment of the said Court from the Painted Chamber, came to the Bench, or Place prepared for their Sitting, at the West End of the Great Hall at Westminster; divers Officers of the said Court, one and twenty Gentlemen with Partizans, and a Sword and Mace marching before them up into the Court, where the Lord President, in a crimson Velvet Chair fixed in the midst of the Court, placed himself, having a Desk with a crimson Velvet Cushion before him: the rest of the Members placing themselves on each side of him, upon several Seats or Benches prepared, and hung with Scarlet for that purpose. The Lord President's two Assistants sitting next of each side of him, and the two Clerks of the Court placed at a Table somewhat lower, and covered with a Turkey Carpet; upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace, the said Guard of Partizans dividing themselves on each side of the Court before them.

Three Proclamations are made for all persons that were Adjourned over thither, to draw near.

The Court being thus sate, and Silence enjoyned, the Great Gate of the Hall was set open, to the intent that all persons (without exception) desirous to see or hear, might come unto it: upon which the Hall was presently filled, and Silence again ordered and proclaimed.

After Silence proclaimed as aforesaid, the Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of a High Court of Justice for Trying and Judging of CHARLES STUART King of England, was openly read by one of the Clerks of the Court.

The

The Act being read, the Court was called, every Commissioner present, thereupon rising to his Name.

Commissioners present.

Westminster-Hall, Jan. 20. 1648.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

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|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Oliver Cromwell,</i> | <i>Richard Deane.</i> |
| <i>Henry Ireton.</i> | <i>John Okey.</i> |
| <i>Sir Hardress Waller.</i> | <i>John Hason.</i> |
| <i>Valentine Wauton.</i> | <i>William Goffe.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Harrison.</i> | <i>Cornelius Holland.</i> |
| <i>Edward Whaley.</i> | <i>John Carew.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Pride.</i> | <i>John Jones.</i> |
| <i>Isaac Ewer.</i> | <i>Thomas Lister.</i> |
| <i>Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.</i> | <i>Peregr. Pelham.</i> |
| <i>William Lo. Mounson.</i> | <i>Francis Allen.</i> |
| <i>Sir John Danvers.</i> | <i>Thomas Challoner.</i> |
| <i>Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.</i> | <i>John Moore.</i> |
| <i>Sir John Bourchier, Kt.</i> | <i>William Say.</i> |
| <i>Isaac Pennington Ald. of Lond.</i> | <i>John Aldred.</i> |
| <i>Henry Marten.</i> | <i>Francis Laffells.</i> |
| <i>William Purefoy.</i> | <i>Henry Smith.</i> |
| <i>John Berkstead.</i> | <i>James Challoner.</i> |
| <i>John Blackstone.</i> | <i>Humphrey Edwards.</i> |
| <i>Gilbert Millington.</i> | <i>Gregory Clement.</i> |
| <i>Sir William Constable, Bar.</i> | <i>John Fry.</i> |
| <i>Edmund Ludlow.</i> | <i>Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.</i> |
| <i>John Hutchinson.</i> | <i>Edmund Harvey.</i> |
| <i>Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.</i> | <i>John Venn.</i> |
| <i>Robert Tichbourne.</i> | <i>Thomas Scot.</i> |
| <i>Owen Roe.</i> | <i>William Cawley.</i> |
| <i>Robert Lilbourne.</i> | <i>Anthony Stapeley.</i> |
| <i>Adrian Scroope.</i> | <i>John Downs.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Horton.</i> | <i>John Dixwell.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Hammond.</i> | <i>Simon Meyne.</i> |
| <i>John Lisle.</i> | <i>James Temple.</i> |
| <i>Nicholas Love.</i> | <i>Peter Temple.</i> |
| <i>Vincent Potter.</i> | <i>Daniel Blaggrave.</i> |
| <i>Augustine Garland.</i> | <i>John Brown.</i> |

This done, the Court command the Serjeant at Arms to fend for the Prisoner; and thereupon, Col. Thomlinson, who had the Charge of the Prisoner, within a quarter of an hours space brought him, attended by Col. Hacker, and two and thirty Officers with Par-
tizans,

tizans, guarding him to the Court, his own Servants immediately attending him.

Being thus brought up in the Face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms with his Mace receives him, and conducts him straight to the Bar, having a crimson Velvet Chair set before him. After a stern looking upon the Court and the People in the Galleries on each side of him, he places himself in the Chair, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court; but presently riseth up again, and turns about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of Spectators on the right side of the said great Hall, the Guard that attended him, in the mean time dividing themselves on each side the Court, and his own Servants following him to the Bar, stand on the left hand of the Prisoner.

The Prisoner having again placed himself in his Chair, with his Face towards the Court, and Silence being again ordered and proclaimed, the *Lord President* in the Name of the Court, addressed himself to the Prisoner, acquainting him, *That the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the Evils and Calamities that had been brought upon this Nation, and of the innocent Blood that had been spilt in it, which was fixed upon him as the principal Author of it, had resolved to make Inquisition for this Blood, and according to the Debt they did owe to God, to Justice, the Kingdom, and themselves, and according to that Fundamental Power that rested, and Trust reposed in them by the People, other Means failing through his Default, had resolved to bring him to Tryal and Judgment, and had therefore constituted that Court of Justice, before which he was then brought, where he was to hear his Charge, upon which the Court would proceed according to Justice.*

Hereupon, Mr. Cooke, Solicitor for the Commonwealth, standing within a Bar, with the rest of the Council for the Commonwealth on the right hand of the Prisoner, offered to speak; but the Prisoner, having a Staff in his hand, held it up, and softly laid it upon the said Mr. Cooke's Shoulder two or three times, bidding him hold; nevertheless, the *Lord President*

ſident ordering him to go on, Mr. *Cooke* did according to the Order of the Court, to him directed, in the Name, and on the behalf of the People of *England*, exhibit a Charge of High Treason, and other high Crimes, and did therewith accuse the ſaid CHARLES STUART King of *England*; praying in the Name, and on the behalf aforeſaid, that the Charge might be accordingly received and read, and due Proceedings had thereupon; and accordingly preferred a Charge in writing, which being received by the Court, and delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President in the Name of the Court ordered it ſhould be read.

But the King interrupting the reading of it, the Court notwithstanding commanded the Clerk to read it, acquainting the Priſoner that if he had any thing to ſay after, the Court would hear him; whereupon the Clerk read the Charge, the Tenor whereof is as followeth, *viz.*

A Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes Exhibited to the High Court of Juſtice by John Cooke Eſq; Sollicitor General, appointed by the ſaid Court, for, and on the behalf of the People of *England*, againſt CHARLES STUART King of *England*.

THAT He the ſaid CHARLES STUART, being admitted King of *England*, and therein truſted with a limited Power to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe; and by his Truſt, Oath and Office, being obliged to uſe the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the Preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked Deſign to erect and uphold in himſelf an unlimited and Tyrannical Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, yea to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redreſs

and remedy of misgovernment, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom, were reserved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments or National Meetings in Council, He the said CHARLES STUART, for accomplishment of such his Designs, and for the Protecting of himself and his Adherents, in his and their wicked Practices, to the same Ends, hath Traiterously and Maliciously Levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented; Particularly, upon or about the Thirtieth day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1642. at Beverley in the County of York; and upon or about the Thirtieth day of July in the Year aforesaid, in the County of the City of York; and upon or about the four and twentieth day of August in the same Year, at the County of the Town of Nottingham, where, and when he set up his Standard of War; and also on or about the twenty third day of Octob. in the same Year, at Edge-Hill and Keynton Field, in the County of Warwick; and upon or about the thirtieth day of November in the same Year, at Brainford in the County of Middlesex; and upon or about the thirtieth day of August, in the Year of our Lord 1643, at Caversham-Bridge near Reading in the County of Berks; and upon or about the thirtieth day of October in the Year last mentioned, at or near the City of Gloucester; and upon or about the thirtieth day of November in the Year last mentioned, at Newbury in the County of Berks; and upon or about the thirty first day of July in the Year of our Lord 1644. at Cropredy-Bridge in the County of Oxon; and upon or about the thirtieth day of September in the last Year mentioned, at Bodwyn and other Places near adjacent, in the County of Cornwall; and upon or about the thirtieth day of November in the Year last mentioned, at Newbury aforesaid; and upon or about the eighth day of June in the Year of our Lord 1645. at the Town of Leicester; and also upon the fourteenth day of the same Month in the same Year, at Nazeby-Field in the County of Northampton. At which several Times and Places, or most of them, and at many other Places in this Land, at several other times within the Years afore-mentioned; and in the Year of our Lord 1646. He the said CHARLES STUART hath caused and procured many Thousands of the free People of this Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties,

Parties, and Insurrections within this Land, by Invasions from Foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, He the said CHARLES STUART hath not only maintained and carried on the said War both by Land and Sea, during the Year before mentioned, but also hath renewed or caused to be renewed the said War against the Parliament and good People of this Nation, in this present Year 1648. in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Surrey, Suffex, Middlesex, and many other Counties and Places in England and Wales; and also by Sea. And particularly He the said CHARLES STUART hath for that purpose given Commission to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other Persons, many such as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed for the safety of the Nation (being by him or his Angels corrupted to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament) have had Entertainment and Commission for the continuing and renewing of War and Hostility against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid; By which cruel and unnatural Wars by him the said CHARLES STUART Levied, Continued and Renewed as aforesaid, much innocent Blood of the free People of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the Publick Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed, and miserably decayed, vast Expence and Damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of this Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation. And for further Prosecution of his said evil Designs, He the said CHARLES STUART doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters both English and Foreigners, and to the E. of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters associated with him; from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the said CHARLES STUART.

All which wicked Designs, Wars and evil Practices of him the said CHARLES STUART, have been, and are carried on for the advancement and upholding of a Personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Family, against the Publick Interest, Common Right, Liberty, Justice and Peace of the People of this Nation, by and for whom he was intrusted as aforesaid.

By

By all which it appeareth, that He the said CHARLES STUART hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Continuer of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damages and Mischiefs to this Nation acted and committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby.

And the said John Cooke by Protestation saving on the behalf of the said People of *England*, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge against the said CHARLES STUART, and also of replying to the Answers which the said CHARLES STUART shall make to the Premises, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited, doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said People of *England*, impeach the said CHARLES STUART, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a Publick and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*, and pray that the said CHARLES STUART King of *England*, may be put to answer all and every the Premises, and that such Proceedings, Examinations, Trials, Sentences and Judgments may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

Subscribed, *John Cooke.*

The Prisoner, while the Charge was reading, fate down in his Chair, looking sometimes on the High Court, and sometimes on the Galleries, and rose again, and turned about to behold the Guards & Spectators, and after fate down looking very sternly, and with a Countenance not at all moved, till these words, *viz. CHARLES STUART to be a Tyrant, Traytor, &c.* were read; at which he laughed as he fate in the face of the Court.

The Charge being read, the *Lord President*, in the Name of the Court, demanded the Prisoner's Answer thereto.

But the Prisoner declining that, fell into a Discourse of the late Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, and demanded,

manded, *By what lawful Authority he was brought from the Isle thither ?* upbraiding the Court with the many unlawful Authorities in the World, instancing in Robbers and takers of Purfes, pleading his Kingship, and thereby a Trust committed to him by God, by descent, which he should betray, together with the Liberties of the People, in case he should answer to an unlawful Power, which he charged the Court to be, and that *they were raised by an Usurped Power ;* and affirmed, that *He stood more for the Liberties of the People, than any of the Judges there sitting,* and again demanded, *by what Authority he was brought thither ?*

To which it was replied by the Court, *That had he been pleased to have observed what was declared to him by the Court at his first coming, and the Charge which he had heard read unto him, he might have informed himself by what Authority he was brought before them ; namely, By the Authority of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, on the behalf of the People of England :* and did therefore again several times advise him *to consider of a better Answer ;* which he refused to do, but persisted in his Contumacy. Whereupon, the Court at length told him, *That, they did expect from him a Positive Answer to the Charge ;* affirming their Authority, and giving him to understand, that *they were upon God's and the Kingdom's Errand, and that the Peace stood for, would be better had and kept when Justice was done, and that was their present Work ;* and advised him seriously to consider what he had to do at his next appearance ; which was declared should be upon Monday following, and so remanded him to his former Custody.

The Prisoner all the time having kept on his Hat, departed, without shewing any the least respect to the Court ; but going out of the Bar, said, *He did not fear that Bill ;* pointing to the Table where the Sword and Charge lay.

The Prisoner being withdrawn, three Proclamations were made, and the Court Adjourned it self to the Painted Chamber on Monday Morning then next, at Nine of the Clock ; declaring, that from thence they intended to Adjourn to the same Place again.

K

But

But that the Reader may have the entire Relation of this deplorable Tragedy, I have from the most Authentick Prints inferted at large the interlocutory Passages between the *King* and *Bradshaw*, of which Mr. *Phelpes* in his *Journal*, gives only a succinct Account ; which take as follows :

His Majesty with his wonted Patience, heard all these Slanders and Reproaches, sitting in the Chair, and looking sometimes on the Pretended Court, sometimes up to the Galleries, and rising again, turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators ; then he sat down with a Majestick and unmoved Countenance, and sometimes smiling, especially at those Words [Tyrant , Traytor ,] and the like.

Also the Silver Head of his Staff happened to fall off, at which he wondered ; and seeing none to take it up, He stooped for it himself.

The Charge being read , Bradshaw began.

Sir, You have now heard your Charge read, containing such Matters as appear in it : You find that in the Close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the *Commons of England*, that you Answer to your Charge : The Court expects your Answer.

King. I would know by what Power I am called hither. I was not long ago in the Isle of Wight, how I came there, is a longer Story than I think is fit at this time for Me to speak of : but there I entred into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much Publick Faith as its possible to be had of any People in the World, I Treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honestly and uprightly ; I cannot say but they did very Nobly with Me : We were upon a Conclusion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority (I mean Lawful ; There are many Unlawful Authorities in the World ; Thieves and Robbers by the High-ways : but I would know by what Authority) I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place,

place, and I know not what. And when I know by what Lawful Authority, I shall Answer.

Remember, I am your King, your Lawful King, and what Sins you bring upon your heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land. Think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one Sin to a greater. Therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer. In the mean time, I shall not betray my Trust; I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful Descent, I will not betray it, to answer to a new unlawful Authority: Therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.

Bradshaw. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you in the Name of the People of England, of which you are Elected King, to Answer.

King. No, Sir, I deny that.

Bradshaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King. I do tell them so: England was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for near these thousand Years: Therefore let me know by what Authority I am called hither. I do stand more for the Liberty of my People, than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I will Answer it, otherwise I will not answer it.

Bradshaw. Sir, How really you have managed your Trust, is known; your way of Answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. Here is a Gentleman, Lieut. Col. Cobbet, ask him if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force. I do not come here as submitting to the Court.

I will stand as much for the Priviledge of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever: I see no House of Lords here, that may constitute a Parliament; and the King too should have been.

Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the Publick Faith of the World? Let

Let me see a Legal Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, and I will answer.

Bradshaw. Sir, You have propounded a Question, and have been answered. Seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed. In the mean time, those that brought you hither, are to take Charge of you back again.

The Court desires to know whether this be all the Answer you will give, or no.

King. Sir, I desire that you would give me and all the World satisfaction in this. Let me tell you, It is not a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the Peace, by that Duty I owe to God and my Country; and I will do it to the last breath of my Body. And therefore you shall do well to satisfy, first, God, and then the Country, by what Authority you do it. If you do it by an Usurped Authority, you cannot answer it: There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you Power, to account. Satisfie me in that, and I will answer; otherwise I betray my Trust, and the Liberties of the People: And therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing: For I do avow, That it is as great a Sin to withstand Lawful Authority, as it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any other ways Unlawful Authority. And therefore satisfie God, and Me, and all the World in that, and you shall receive my Answer. I am not afraid of the Bill.

Bradshaw. The Court expects you should give them a final Answer. Their Purpose is to Adjourn till Monday next: If you do not satisfie your self, though we do tell you our Authority, we are satisfied with our Authority; and it is upon God's Authority and the Kingdoms; and that Peace you speak of, will be kept in the doing of Justice, and that's our present Work..

King. For Answer, Let me tell you, you have shewn no Lawful Authority to satisfie any reasonable man.

Bradshaw. That's in Your Apprehension; We are satisfied that are your Judges.

King. 'Tis not My Apprehension, nor Yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Bradshaw.

Bradshaw. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.

So commanding the Guard to take him away, His Majesty only replied, *Well, Sir.*

And at his going down, pointing with his Staff toward the * *Axe*, He said, *I do not fear that.*

* This must be a Mistake
for there was no *Axe* there; but it is Bill in Phelpe's Journal; which Bill was the Charge, which the King meant, when now, as also before, he said, He did not fear that Bill.

As He went down the Stairs, the People in the Hall cried out, *God save the King*; notwithstanding some were set there by the Faction to lead the Clamour for Justice.

Painted Chamber, 22 Jan. 1648.

Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court,

William Say.

John Downs.

Edward Whaley.

Francis Allen.

Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.

Valentine Wauton.

Peter Temple.

John Fry.

Thomas Scot.

Henry Smith.

Thomas Pride.

Augustine Garland.

John Venn.

Sir John Bouchier.

William Purefoy.

Sir William Constable, Bar.

Isaac Pennington Ald. of Lond.

Thomas Harrison.

Edmund Harvey.

John Hutchinson.

Oliver Cromwell.

Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.

Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.

Robert Wallop.

James Temple.

Owen Roe.

Richard Deane.

William Goffe.

Francis Laffels.

Edmond Ludlow.

William Cawley.

Gilbert Millington.

Sir Hardres Waller.

Anthony Stapeley.

John Jones.

Nicholas Love.

John Carew.

Tho. Andrews, Ald. of Lond.

Isaac Ewers.

John Huson.

Cornelius Holland.

Humphrey Edwards.

Vincent Potter.

John Okey.

John Blackistone.

Thomas Hammond.

Daniel Blagrove.

William Heveningham.

Sir Michael Livesey.

John Berkstead.

Peregrine Pelham.

John Downes.

L

Adrian

62 Com-
missioners
present.

Adrian Scroope.
John Dixwell.
John Moore.
Robert Tichbourne.
James Challoner.

Gregory Clement.
William L. Mounson.
Henry Marten.
Tho. Challoner.

Here the Court sit private.

Ordered, *That the Committee for nominating the Officers of this Court, together with the Committee for nominating the Guards, do consider of an Allowance for Diet of the Officers, and what other satisfaction they shall have for their Service.*

Col. *Harvey* informeth the Court, That he was desired to signifie unto this Court, in the behalf of Mr. *John Corbet*, Member of this Court, that his absence is not from any disaffection to the Proceedings of this Court, but in regard of other especial Employment that he hath in the Service of the State.

Here the Court considered of the King's Carriage on the *Saturday* before, and of all that had then passed on the Courts behalf, and approved thereof, as agreeing to their Sense and Directions; and perceiving what the King aimed at, (*viz*) to bring in question (if he could) the Jurisdiction of the Court, and the Authority whereby they sat; and considering that he had not in the interim acknowledged them in any sort to be a Court, or in any Judicial capacity to determine of his Demand and Plea, and that through their sides he intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the Supream Authority of the Commons of *England*, in their Representative; *The Commons Assembled in Parliament*, after Advice with their Council Learned in both Laws, and mature Deliberation had of the Matter,

Resolved, That the Prisoner should not be suffered to bring these things in question which he aimed at, touching that Highest Jurisdiction, whereof they might not make themselves Judges, and from which there was no Appeal. And therefore Order and Direct, *viz.*

Ordered,

Ordered, That in case the King shall again offer to fall into that Discourse, the Lord President do let him know, That the Court have taken into consideration his Demands of the last Day, and that he ought to rest satisfied with this Answer, That the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, have Constituted this Court; whose Power may not, nor should not be permitted to be disputed by him, and that they were resolved he should answer his Charge.

That, in case he shall refuse to Answer, or acknowledge the Court, the Lord President do let him know, that the Court will take it as a Contumacy, and that it shall be so Recorded.

That, in case he shall offer to Answer with a Saving Notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogative, That the Lord President do in the Name of the Court refuse his Protest, and require his Positive Answer to the Charge.

That, in case the King shall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his intention to Answer; and that declaring such his intention, a Copy be granted unto him.

That, in case the King shall still persist in his Contempt, the Lord President do give Command to the Clerk to demand of the King in the Name of the Court, in these Words following, viz.

CHARLES STUART, King of England, You are accused in the behalf of the People of England, of diverse High Crimes and Treasons; which Charge hath been read unto You; The Court requires you to give a Positive Answer, whether You confess or deny the Charge, having determined, that You ought to Answer the same.

Ordered, That the Commissioners shall be called in open Court, at the Courts Sitting in the Hall, and that the Names of such as appear shall be Recorded.

Hereupon, the Court forthwith Adjourned it self into Westminster-Hall.

West-

Westminster-Hall, 22 Jan. 1648. Post Merid.

The Commissioners coming from the *Painted Chamber*, take their Place in the Publick Court in *Westminster-Hall*, as on *Saturday* before ; and being sate, and the Hall Doors set open,

Three Proclamations are made, for all Persons that were Adjourned over to this time , to give their Attendance, and for all Persons to keep Silence, upon pain of Imprisonment.

The Court is thereupon called.

Commissioners Present in *Westminster-Hall*,
22 Jan. 1648.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

William Say.

John Lisle.

Oliver Cromwell,

Henry Ireton.

Sir Hardress Waller.

Valentine Wauton.

Tho. Harrison.

Edward Whaley.

Thomas Pride.

Isaac Ewer.

Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.

William L. Mounson.

Sir John Danvers.

Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.

Sir John Bouchier, Kt.

Edmund Ludlow.

John Huson.

William Goffe.

Cornelius Holland.

John Carew.

Robert Lilbourne.

John Jones.

Francis Allen.

Reggrine Pelham.

Thomas Challoner.

John Moore.

John Aldred.

Francis Lassels.

Henry Smith.

James Challoner.

Gregory Clement.

John Fry.

Thomas Wogan.

Peter Temple.

Robert Wallop.

William Heveningham.

Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.

Henry Martin.

William Purefoy.

John Berkstead.

William Tomlinson.

John Blakistone.

Gilbert Millington.

Sir William Constable, Bar.

Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.

Robert Tichbourne.

Owen Roe.

Adrian Scroope.

John Deane.

John Okey.

John Hutchinson.

Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.

Edmond

Edmond Harvey.
 John Venn.
 Thomas Scot.
 Tho. Andrews, Ald. of Lond.
 William Cawley.
 Anthony Stapeley.
 John Downes.
 Thomas Horton.
 Thomas Hammond.

Nicholas Love.
 Vincent Potter.
 Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bar.
 Augustine Garland.
 John Dixwell.
 James Temple.
 Daniel Blagrove.
 Humphrey Edwards.

70 Com-
 missioners
 present.

The Court being called, the Serjeant is commanded to fetch his Prisoner.

The King is again brought Prisoner to the Bar, as on *Saturday* before ; Proclamation is made for Silence, whilst Pleas of the Commonwealth were in hand, and Order given to the Captain of the Guard to take into his Custody such as should disturb the Court.

Mr. *Sollicitor* moved the Court, that the Prisoner might give a Positive Answer to his Charge, or otherwise that the Court would take the Matter of it *pro Confesso*, and proceed thereupon according to Justice ; which being pressed by the Court upon the Prisoner, and their Judgment again made known unto him, That he was to Answer his Charge, otherwise that his Contumacy would be recorded.

The Prisoner, that notwithstanding, still insisted upon his former Plea, and that the Court had no Power, nor the *Commons* of *England*, who had constituted it, to proceed against him ; upon which, the Clerk of the Court, by Command, and according to former Order, required his Answer in the Form prescribed : and the Prisoner still refusing to submit thereto, his Default and Contempt were again Recorded, the Prisoner remanded, and the Court Adjourned it self till the next day, being *Tuesday*, at Twelve of the Clock, to the *Painted Chamber* ; withal, giving Notice, that from thence they intended to Adjourn to this Place again.

Sunday having been spent in Fasting and Seditious Preaching, according to the Mode of these Impious Hypocrites, who used to Preface Rebellion and Mur-

M

der

der with the Appearance of Religion ; the Illustrious Sufferer was (as is before in *Phelpe's Journal* related) placed before the infamous Tribunal ; vvhhere their Mercenary Sollicitor *Cooke* opened the Tragick Scene thus, displaying his Talents of Impudence and Treason.

Cooke. *May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, I did at the last Court, in the behalf of the Commons of England, exhibit and give in to this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar ; whereof I do accuse him in the Name of the People of England ; and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, He was not pleased to give an Answer ; but instead of answering, did there dispute the Authority of this High Court. My Humble Motion to this High Court, in the behalf of the Kingdom of England, is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a Positive Answer, either by vvay of Confession or Negation ; vvhich, if he shall refuse to do, that then the Matter of Charge may be taken pro confesso, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.*

Bradshavv. Sir , You may remember, at the last Court you vvere told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read against you, containing a Charge of *High Treason*, and other High Crimes against this Realm of *England* ; you have heard likewise that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you should give an Answer to that Charge, that thereupon such Proceedings might be had, as should be agreeable to Justice : You were then pleased to make some Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither : You did divers times propound your Questions, and were as often answered, That it was by Authority of the *Commons of England* Assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to Account for those High and Capital Misdemeanors wherewith you were then charged.

Since that, the Court hath taken into consideration
what

what you then said: they are fully satisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge that is exhibited against you. They do expect you should either confess or deny it: If you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom, to be made good against you. Their Authority they do avow to the whole World, that the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfied with it; and therefore you are to lose no more time, but to give a positive Answer thereunto.

King. *When I was here last, 'tis very true, I made that Question; and if it were only my own particular Case, I would have satisfied my self with the Protestation I made the last time I was here, against the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be Tried by any Superior Jurisdiction on Earth: But it is not my Case alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the People of England; and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their Liberties. For if Power without Law, may make Laws, may alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in England that can be sure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own: Therefore, when that I came here, I did expect particular Reasons, to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed against Me here; and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this Particular, because the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative often is very hard to do: But since I cannot persuade you to do it, I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can.*

My Reasons why in Conscience, and the Duty I owe to God first, and my People next, for the Preservation of their Lives, Liberties and Estates, I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the Legality of it.

All Proceedings against any Man whatsoever-----

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you; which I would not do, but that what you do, is not agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court of Justice. You are about to enter into Argument and Dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an high Delin-

Delinquent: If you take upon you to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it; you are to submit unto it, you are to give a punctual and direct Answer, whether you will answer your Charge or no, and what your Answer is.

King. *Sir, By your favour, I do not know the Forms of Law; I do know Law and Reason, though I am no Lawyer professed: But I know as much Law as any Gentleman in England, and therefore, under favour, I do plead for the Liberties of the People of England more than you do; and therefore if I should impose a Belief upon any man without Reasons given for it, it were unreasonable: But I must tell you, that by that Reason that I have, as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.*

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you; you may not be permitted: You speak of Law and Reason; it is fit there should be Law and Reason; and there is both against you.

Sir, The Vote of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, it is the Reason of the Kingdom; and they are these too that have given that Law according to which you should have Ruled and Reigned. Sir, You are not to dispute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court; Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. *I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent; but by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents, or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers against any Proceeding as Legal; and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons: if you deny that, you deny Reason.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You have offered something to the Court; I shall speak something unto you the Sense of the Court. Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that Point; you are concluded, you may not demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court; if you do, I must let you know that they over-rule your Demurrer: They sit here by the Authority of the Commons of England, and all your Predecessors and you are responsible to them.

King.

King. *I deny that ; shew me one Precedent.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you. This Point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it : If you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. *I say, Sir, By your favour, that the Commons of England was never a Court of Judicature ; I would know how they came to be so.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read,

CHARLES STUART, King of England, You have been accused on the behalf of the People of England, of High Treason, and other High Crimes ; the Court have determined that you ought to Answer the same.

King. *I will Answer the same so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.*

Bradshaw. If this be all that you will say, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. *I do require that I may give in my Reasons why I do not Answer ; and give Me time for that.*

Bradshaw. Sir, 'Tis not for Prisoners to require.

King. *Prisoners, Sir ! I am not an ordinary Prisoner.*

Bradshaw. The Court hath considered of their Jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their Jurisdiction : If you will not answer, we will give Order to Record your Default.

King. *You never heard my Reasons yet.*

Bradshaw. Sir, Your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. *Shew Me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.*

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Bradshaw.

Bradshaw. Sir, We shew it you here, *The Commons of England*: and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the Pleasure of the Court; and it may be, their final Determination.

King. *Shew Me where ever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.*

Bradshaw. Serjeant, Take away the Prisoner.

King. Well, Sir, Remember that the King is not suffered to give in his Reasons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects,

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to have Liberty to use this Language. How great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all England and the World judge.

King. Sir, Under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took-----defended My self with Arms: I never took up Arms against the People, but for the Laws.

Bradshaw. The Command of the Court must be obeyed: No Answer will be given to the Charge.

King. Well, Sir.

Then *Bradshaw* Ordered the Default to be Recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no Answer would be given to the Charge.

The King was Guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's House.

The Court Adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tuesday at Twelve of the Clock, and from thence they intend to Adjourn to *Westminster-Hall*, at which time all Persons concerned are to give their Attendance.

His

His Majesty not being suffered to deliver his Reasons against the Jurisdiction of their Pretended Court, by word of Mouth, thought fit to leave them in Writing to the more impartial Judgment of Posterity, as followeth ;

Having already made my Proteſtations, not only againſt the Illegality of this Pretended Court, but alſo, That no Earthly Power can juſtly call Me (*who am your King*) in queſtion, as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My Mouth upon this Occaſion, more than to refer my ſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I in this Caſe alone concerned: But the Duty I owe to God in the Preſervation of the True Liberty of My People, will not ſuffer Me at this time to be ſilent: For, how can any Free-born Subject of England call Life or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own, if Power without Right, dayly make New, and abrogate the Old Fundamental Law of the Land? Which I now take to be the preſent Caſe. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfied Me concerning theſe Grounds which hinder Me to anſwer to your Pretended Impeachment: But ſince I ſee that nothing I can ſay, will move you to it (though Negatives are not ſo naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will ſhew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot Judge Me, nor indeed the meaneſt Man in England: For I will not (like you) without ſhewing a Reason, ſeek to impoſe a Belief upon My Subjects.

There is no Proceeding juſt againſt any man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am moſt confident, This Days Proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law; for, on the contrary, The Authority of Obedience unto Kings, is clearly warranted, and ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament; which, if denied, I am ready inſtantly to prove.

Hereabout
I was ſtopt,
and not ſuffered to
ſpeak any
more concerning
Reasons.

And for the Queſtion now in hand, there it is ſaid, That, Where the Word of a King is, There is Power; and who may ſay unto Him, What doſt Thou? Eccl.

8. 4. *Then for the Law of this Land, I am no less confident, That no Learned Lawyer will affirm, That, An Impeachment can lie against the King ; they all going in His Name: And one of their Maxims is, That, The King can do no Wrong. Besides, The Law upon which you ground your Proceedings, must either be Old or New ; if Old, shew it ; if New, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self, (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge : And it were full as strange, that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of England.*

And admitting, but not granting, That the People of England's Commission could grant your Pretended Power, I see nothing you can shew for that ; for certainly you never asked the Question of the Tenth Man in the Kingdom ; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the Poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free Consent ; nor can you pretend any colour for this your Pretended Commission, without the Consent at least of the Major Part of every Man in England, of whatsoever Quality or Condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek ; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own Right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true Liberty of all My Subjects ; which consists not in the Power of Government, but in Living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best Assurance of their Lives, and Property of their Goods. Nor in this, must, or do I forget the Privileges of Both Houses of Parliament ; which this Days Proceedings do not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest Breach of their Publick Faith, that (I believe) ever was heard of ; with which I am far from Charging the Two Houses ; for all Pretended Crimes laid against Me, bear Date long before this Treaty at Newport ; in which, I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses Agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner ; upon which account I am against My Will brought hither ; where, since I am come, I cannot

cannot but to My Power defend the Ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just Right. Then, for any thing I can see, the Higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the Major part of them are detained or deterred from Sitting; so as, if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the Lawfulness of your Pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My Thoughts; and what hopes of Settlement is there, so long as Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole Frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred Years? (nor will I say what will fall out, in case this lawless, unjust Proceeding against Me, do go on.) And believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late Years under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, the King My Father, and My Self, until the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any New. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My Power hath totally changed the Ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your Pretended Authority, without violating the Trust which I have from God for the Welfare and Liberty of My People, I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My Judgment, shewing Me that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will Answer) or that you will withdraw your Proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall on Monday, January 22. but against Reason, was hindered to shew my Reasons.

Painted Chamber,

Martis, 23 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations are made, and all Parties concerned required to give their Attendance.

Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

John Lisle.

William Say.

Sir James Harrington, Kt.

Francis Allen.

Henry Marten.

Thomas Scot.

Sir Hardress Waller.

Edm. Whalley.

John Venn.

Richard Deane.

John Huson.

Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.

William Purefoy.

Daniel Blgrave.

Isaac Pennington Ald. of Lond.

Thomas Harrison.

Adrian Scroope.

Robert Lilbourne.

Sir Gregory Norton.

Cornelius Holland.

William Cawley.

Augustine Garland.

Nicholas Love.

Tho. Hamond.

John Moore

Edmond Harvey.

Thomas Pride.

Henry Smith.

Thomas Challoner.

Miles Corbet.

John Okey.

Sir William Constable, Bar.

Gilbert Millington.

Humphrey Edwards.

Anthony Stapeley.

Robert Tichbourne.

Sir John Danvers.

Simon Meyne.

Vincent Potter.

Oliver Cromwell.

Edmond Ludlow.

John Blackstone.

Sir Henry Mildmay.

John Hutchinson.

Peter Temple.

Henry Ireton.

Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.

John Jones.

James Temple.

Isaac Ewers.

Sir John Bouchier.

John Fry.

Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.

Gregory Clement.

John Carew.

Tho. Andrews, Ald. of Lond.

John Dixwell.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bar.

William Heveningham.

Valentine Wauton.

John Downs.

Owen Roë.

63 Com-
missioners
present.

Here the Court fate private.

And taking into consideration the Proceeding of the last Court the last day, fully approved of what
in

in their behalf had been then said and done ; and likewise taking into consideration the Demeanor of the King at the said Court, have notwithstanding resolved to try him once more, whether he will own the Court ; and to that purpose,

Ordered, *That the Lord President do acquaint the King, in case he shall continue contumacious, that he is to expect no further time ; and that the Lord President do therefore in the Name of the Court, require his Positive and Final Answer ; and if he shall still persist in his obstinacy, that the Lord President give Command to the Clerk to read as followeth, viz.*

CHARLES STUART King of *England*, you are accused on the behalf of the People of *England*, of divers High Crimes and Treasons ; which Charge hath been read unto you : The Court now requires you to give your final and positive Answer by way of Confession or Denial of the Charge.

Nevertheless, if the King should submit to answer, and desire a Copy of his Charge, that it be granted him by the *Lord President* ; notwithstanding, giving him to know, That the Court might in Justice forthwith proceed to Judgment for his former Contumacy and Failer to Answer, and that he be required to give his Answer to the said Charge the next day at One of the Clock in the Afternoon. Whereupon,

The Court Adjourned to *Westminster-Hall* forthwith.

Westminster-

Westminster-Hall, 28 Jan. 1648. Post Merid.

Three Proclamations being made, and Attendance
and Silence commanded as formerly,

The Court is thereupon called.

Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell.

Henry Ireton.

Sir Hardress Waller.

Valentine Wauton.

Tho. Harrison.

Edward Whalley.

Thomas Pride.

Isaac Ewer.

Henry Martin.

William Purefoy.

John Berkstead.

John Blakistone.

Gilbert Millington.

Sir William Constable, Bar.

Edmond Ludlow.

John Hutchinson.

Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.

Robert Tichbourne.

Owen Roe.

Robert Lilbourne.

Adrian Scroope.

Richard Deane.

John Okey.

John Huson.

William Goffe.

Cornelius Holland.

John Carew.

John Jones.

Miles Corbet.

Francis Allen.

Peregrine Pelham.

Tho. Challoner.

John Moore.

William Say.

John Dixwell.

Sir Henry Mildmay, Kt.

Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.

William L. Mounson.

Sir John Danvers.

Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.

Sir John Bouchier, Kt.

Sir James Harrington, Kt.

Robert Wallop.

William Heveningham.

Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.

John Aldred.

Henry Smith.

James Temple.

Peter Temple.

Daniel Blagrove.

Humphrey Edwards.

Gregory Clement.

John Fry.

Thomas Wogan.

Sir Gregory Norton.

Edmond Harvey.

John Venn.

Thomas Scot.

Tho. Andrews, Ald. of Lond.

William Cawley.

Anthony Stapeley.

John Downes.

Thomas Horton.

Thomas Hammond.

John Lisle.

Nicholas Love.

Vincent Potter.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bar.

Augustine Garland.

Simon Meyne.

71 Com-
missioners
present.

The

The Court being called, the Serjeant is required to fend for the Prisoner, who was accordingly brought to the Bar, where he took his Seat as formerly. Proclamation is thereupon made for Silence, while the Pleas of the Commonwealth are in hand, and the Captain of the Guard commanded by Proclamation; to take into custody all that shall disturb the Proceedings of the Court.

Mr. Solicitor *Cooke* addressing himself to the Court, repeated the former Delays and Contempts of the Prisoner, so as that no more needed on his part, but to demand Judgment; yet offered notwithstanding the Notoriety of the Facts charged, mentioned in the Commons Act, appointing the Tryal, to prove the Truth of the same by Witnesses, if thereto required; and therefore prayed, and yet (he said) not so much he, as the innocent Blood that had been shed, the cry whereof was very great, that a speedy Sentence and Judgment might be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar according to Justice.

Hereupon the Court putting the Prisoner in mind of former Proceedings, and that although by the Rules of Justice, if Advantage were taken of his past Contempts, nothing would remain but to pronounce Judgment against him, they had nevertheless determined to give him leave to Answer his Charge; which, as was told him in plain terms (for Justice knew no respect of Persons) to plead *Guilty* or *Not Guilty* thereto.

To which he made Answer as formerly, That he would not acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and that it was against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; that there was no Law to make a King a Prisoner; that he had done nothing against his Trust; and issued out into such like Discourses.

Upon which, the Courts Resolution was again remembered to him, and he told, That he had now the third time publicly disowned and affronted the Court; That, how good a Preserver he had been of the Fundamental Laws, and Freedoms of the Peo-

P

ple,

ple, his Actions had spoken; that mens Intentions were used to be shewed by their Actions, and that he had written his Meaning in bloody Characters throughout the Kingdom, and that he should find at last, though at present he would not understand it, that he was before a Court of Justice.

Hereupon, in the manner appointed, the Clerk in the Name of the Court demanding the Prisoners Answer to his Charge, and the same refused, the Default was Recorded, the Prisoner remanded, and the Court Adjourned to the *Painted Chamber*.

Painted Chamber.

The Court according to their former Adjournment from *Westminster-Hall*, came together from thence into the *Painted Chamber*, where they sate privately; and Ordered as followeth,

Ordered, *That no Commissioner ought, or shall depart from the Court, without the special leave of the said Court.*

This Court took into consideration the managing of the Business of the Court this day, in the Hall, and the King's Refusal to Answer, notwithstanding he had been three several times demanded and required thereunto, and have thereupon fully approved of what on the Courts part had then passed, and Resolved,

That, Notwithstanding the said Contumacy of the King, and refusal to plead, which in Law amounts to a standing mute, and tacit Confession of the Charge, and notwithstanding the Notoriety of the Fact charged, the Court would nevertheless however examine Witnesses, for the further and clearer satisfaction of their own Judgments and Consciences; the manner of whose Examination was referred to further Consideration the next Sitting, and Warrants were accordingly issued forth for summoning of Witnesses.

Mr. Peters moveth the Court as a Messenger from the King, viz. That the King desires he might speak with his Chaplains that came unto him privately; but the House of Commons having taken that into their

their Consideration, the Court conceived it not proper for them to intermeddle therein.

The Court Adjourned it self till Nine of the Clock to morrow morning, to this Place.

What passed in the Hall more at large than is related by Phelpes in this Days Transactions, see in the following Discourse.

The King being brought in by the Guard, looks with a Majestick Countenance upon his *Pretended Judges*, and sits down.

After the second O Yes, and Silence commanded, Cooke began more insolently ;

Cooke. *May it please your Lordship, My Lord President, This is now the third time, that, by the great Grace and Favour of this High Court, the Prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any Issue joyned in the Cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a Charge against him, containing the Highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of England, That, a King of England, trusted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath so to do, that had Tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked Design to subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against the Parliament and People ; and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the People of England, that he might speedily be required to make an Answer to the Charge.*

But, My Lord, instead of making any Answer, he did then dispute the Authority of this High Court. Your Lordship was pleased to give him a further day to consider, and to put in his Answer ; which day being Yesterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and positive Answer, either by Denying or Confession of it : But, my Lord, he was then pleased for to Demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court ; which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and positive Answer.

My

My Lord, *Besides this great Delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy Judgment against him. My Lord, I might press your Lordship upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That, if a Prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable Plea, Guilty or Not Guilty of the Charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal, that as by an implicate Confession it may be taken pro confesso, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the Prisoner at the Bar has done: But besides, My Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole Fact. The House of Commons, the Supreme Authority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That, it is notorious that the Matter of the Charge is true; as it is in truth, My Lord, as clear as Crystal, and as the Sun that shines at Noon-day: which, if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the People of England's behalf, several Witnesses to produce. And therefore I do humbly pray (and yet I must confess, it is not so much I, as the innocent Blood that hath been shed, the Cry whereof is very great for Justice and Judgment; and therefore I do humbly pray) that speedy Judgment be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.*

Bradshaw went on in the same strain.

Sir, You have heard what is moved by the Council on the behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, You may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget what dilatory Dealings the Court hath found at your hands: You were pleased to propound some Questions; You have had Your Resolution upon them. You were told over and over again, That, The Court did affirm their own Jurisdiction; that it was not for You nor any other man to dispute the Jurisdiction of the Supreme and Highest Authority of England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no Dispute; yet You did persist in such Carriage, as You gave no manner of Obedience, nor did You acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this Court of Justice.

Sir,

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these Delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the Supreme Court of *England*, to be thus trifled withal; and that they might in Justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of Justice, take advantage of these Delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment against you: yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this Charge that is against you. Sir, in plain terms (for Justice knows no respect of Persons) you are to give your Positive and Final Answer in plain *English*, whether you be Guilty or not Guilty of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

The King, after a little Pause, said,

When I was here Yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of England; I was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not.

Bradshaw. Sir, You have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day; and you were told, *That having such a Charge of so high a Nature, against you, your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your Charge.* Sir, if you answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the Advantage of your Contempt; yet, if you be able to answer to your Charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other Discourses, till such time as you have given a Positive Answer concerning the Matter that is charged upon you.

King. For the Charge, I value it not a rush. It is the Liberty of the People of England that I stand for. For Me to acknowledge a New Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the People of England, for to uphold Justice, to maintain the Old Laws, indeed I know not how to do it.

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You

You spoke very well the first day that I came here on Saturday, of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God to the Maintenance of the Liberties of my People ; the same Obligation you spake of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to Him and to My People, to defend as much as in me lies, the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom ; therefore until that I may know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your favour, I can put in no particular Answer. If you will give Me time, I will shew you My Reasons why I cannot do it ; and this----

Here being interrupted, he said,

By your favour, you ought not to interrupt Me.

How I came here I know not ; there's no Law for it, to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom ; that was the known---- Two Houses of Parliament, that was the Representative of the Kingdom ; and when that I had almost made an end of the Treaty, then I was hurried away, and brought hither ; and therefore----

Bradshaw. Sir, You must know the Pleasure of the Court.

King. By your favour, Sir.

Bradshaw. Nay, Sir, By your Favour, You may not be permitted to fall into those Discourses : You appear as a Delinquent ; You have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court. The Court craves it not of You ; but once more they command You to give Your Positive Answer.

Clerk, do your Duty.

King. Duty, Sir !

The Clerk reads.

CHARLES STUART, King of England, You are accused, in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers High Crimes and Treasons ; which Charge hath been read unto you : The Court now requires you to give your Positive and Final Answer by way of Confession or Denial of the Charge.

King.

King. Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the People of England, of the clearness of My Proceeding, not by way of Answer, not in this way, but to satisfy them, that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to Me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court against their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you must excuse Me.

Bradshaw. Sir, This is the third time that You have publickly disown'd this Court, and put an Affront upon it. How far You have preserv'd the Priviledges of the People, Your Actions have spoke it; but truly, Sir, Mens Intentions ought to be known by their Actions: You have written Your Meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom.

But, Sir, You understand the Pleasure of the Court.
Clerk, Record the Default.

And, Gentlemen, You that took Charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

King. I will only say this one Word more to you; if it were only My own Particular, I would not say any more, nor interrupt you.

Bradshaw. Sir, You have heard the Pleasure of the Court, and You are (notwithstanding You will not understand it) to find that You are before a Court of Justice.

Then the King went forth with the Guard.

And Proclamation was made, That all Persons which had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the *Painted Chamber*; to which Place the Court did forthwith Adjourn, and intended to meet at *Westminster-Hall* by Ten of the Clock next Morning.

Cryer. God blefs the Kingdom of England.

Painted

Mercurii, 24 Jan. 1648.

Painted Chamber.

Three Proclamations made.

The Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

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|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.</i> | <i>Cornelius Holland.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Scot.</i> | <i>John Berkstead.</i> |
| <i>Edward Whalley.</i> | <i>Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.</i> |
| <i>John Carew.</i> | <i>John Hason.</i> |
| <i>Edmund Harvey.</i> | <i>John Okey.</i> |
| <i>Owen Roe.</i> | <i>Gilbert Millington.</i> |
| <i>John Blackstone.</i> | <i>John Jones.</i> |
| <i>William Purefoy.</i> | <i>William Goffe.</i> |
| <i>Henry Smith.</i> | <i>Sir John Bourchier.</i> |
| <i>John Fry.</i> | <i>Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lond.</i> |
| <i>Francis Lassels.</i> | <i>Simon Meyne.</i> |
| <i>Daniel Blagrove.</i> | <i>Adrian Scroope.</i> |
| <i>Anthony Stapeley.</i> | <i>John Dixwell.</i> |
| <i>Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.</i> | <i>Isaac Ewers.</i> |
| <i>William Cawley.</i> | <i>John Aldred.</i> |
| <i>Robert Tichbourne.</i> | <i>Peter Temple.</i> |
| <i>Henry Marten.</i> | <i>Peregrine Pelham.</i> |
| <i>Oliver Cromwell.</i> | <i>Edmund Ludlow.</i> |
| <i>Sir John Danvers.</i> | <i>John Hutchinson.</i> |
| <i>John Moore.</i> | <i>Thomas Pride.</i> |
| <i>Richard Deane.</i> | <i>William Heveningham.</i> |
| <i>Vincent Potter.</i> | <i>Sir William Constable.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Horton.</i> | <i>Francis Allen.</i> |

The Court took into Consideration the Manner how the Witnesses should be Examined ; and in regard the King hath not Pleaded to Issue, and that this Examination was *ex abundanti* only for the further satisfaction of themselves,

Resolved, That the Witnesses shall be Examined to the Charge against the King, in the *Painted Chamber*, before the Court there.

Ordered, That *Mr. Millington* and *Mr. Tho. Chaloner* do forthwith repair unto *John Brown Esq;* Clerk of
the

the House of Peers for such Papers as are in his Custody, which are conducible for the Businesß and Service of this Court, and the said Mr. Brown is required to send the said Papers hither accordingly.

Witnesses Produced and Sworn in Court to give Evidence to the Charge against the King.

*Henry Hartford.
Edward Roberts.
William Braynes.
Robert Lacy.
Robert Loades.
Samuel Morgan.
James Williams.
Michael Potts.
Giles Gryce.
William Arnop.
John Vinson.
George Seely.
Tho. Ives.
James Crosby.
Tho. Rawlins.*

*Richard Blomfield.
John Thomas.
Samuel Lawfon.
John Pyneger.
George Cornewall.
Tho. Whittington.
William Jones.
Humphrey Browne.
Arthur Tounge.
David Evans.
Diogenes Edwards.
Robert Williams.
John Bennett.
Samuel Burden.*

Col. Horton, Col. Deane, Col. Okey, Col. Huson, Col. Roe, Col. Tichbourne, Col. Whalley, Col. Tomlinson, Col. Goffe, Col. Ewers, Col. Scroope, Mr. Love, Mr. Scot, Mr. Tho. Challoner, Mr. Millington, and Sir John Danvers, or any Three of them, are a Committee appointed to take the Examination of the said Witnesses now sworn, whom the Clerks are to attend for that purpose.

The Court granted their Summons for summoning further Witnesses, and Adjourned it self till the Morrow at Nine of the Clock in the Morning, to this Place.

Jovis, 25 Jan. 1648.

Painted Chamber,

Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord President* of this Court.

Richard Deane.

Sir Hardres Waller.

John Moore

Peregr. Pelham.

John Huson.

John Barkstead.

Edw. Whalley.

John Okey.

Edmond Harvey.

Adrian Scroope.

Henry Smith.

Thomas Scot.

William Cawley.

Gilbert Millington.

Thomas Challoner.

John Carew.

Sir John Bouchier, Kt.

Sir Thomas Maleverer Bar.

Francis Allen.

Thomas Harrison.

John Jones.

John Aldred.

John Browne.

Isaac Ewers.

Robert Tichbourne.

Augustine Garland.

Francis Lassells.

John Dixwell.

Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.

John Venn.

Edmond Wild.

With divers others.

Here the Court fate private.

The Court Ordered that the Marshal Gen. of this Army, or his Deputy do bring forthwith Mr. *Holder* Prisoner at *White-Hall*, to the end that he may testify his knowledge of all such Matters as shall be propounded unto him concerning the Charge against the King.

Ordered, That the Dean's House in Westminster-Abbey, be provided and furnished for the Lodging of the Lord President and his Servants, Guards and Attendants; and a Committee are appointed to take care hereof accordingly.

Mr. *Henry Gouge* and Mr. *William Cuthbert*, Witnesses produced to the Charge against the King, were sworn and examined.

The

The Witnesses sworn in open Court, and after examined by the Committee appointed for that purpose the 24th. Instant, were now in open Court called, and their respective Depositions were read to them, who did avow their said several Depositions, and affirm what was so read unto them respectively, was true, upon the Oaths they had taken.

The Court being informed, that Major Fox, being of the Guard attending the Lord President, is arrested, and committed to the Keeper of Ludgate, Ordered,

That *the said Keeper do forthwith bring the said Major before this Court, and attend this Court in person himself.*

M. Holder being brought before this Court according to the Order of this Day, and his Oath tendered unto him, to give Evidence to such Matters as should be propounded unto him concerning the Charge against the King, the said Mr. Holder desired to be spared from giving Evidence against the King.

Whereupon, the Commissioners finding him already a Prisoner, and perceiving that the Questions intended to be asked him, tended to accuse himself, thought fit to wave his Examination, and remanded him (and accordingly did so) to the Prison from whence he was brought.

The Depositions taken ut supra, are as followeth, viz.

Jan, 25. 1648.

William Cutbbert of Patrington in * Holdernefs, Gent. * Holdernefs is in the County of York. Aged 42 Years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, faith, That he, this Deponent, living at Hull-Bridge, near Beverley, in July 1642. did then hear that Forces were raised about three thousand Foot, for the Kings Guard under Sir Robert Strickland.

And this Deponent further faith, That about the Second of July 1642. he saw a Troop of Horse come to Beverley, being the Lords Day, about four or five of the Clock in the Afternoon, called, *The Princes Troop*, Mr. James Nelthorpe being then Major of the said Town.

And

And this Deponent further saith, That he did see that Afternoon the said Troop march from *Beverley* aforesaid, into *Holdernefs*, where they received Ammunition brought up by the River of *Humber* unto them.

And this Deponent further saith, That the same Night being *Sunday*, there came about three hundred Foot Soldiers (said to be Sir Robert Strickland's Regiment) under the Command of Lieutenant Col. *Duncombe*, and called, *The King's Guard*, unto this Deponent's House, called *Hull-Bridge*, near *Beverley*, about Midnight, and broke open, entred, and possessed themselves of the said House; and that the E. of *Newport*, the E. of *Carnarvan*, and divers others came that night thither to the said Forces ; and that the same night (as this Deponent was then informed) Sir *Tho. Gower*, then High Sheriff of the said County, came thither, and left there a Warrant for staying all Provisions from going to *Hull* to Sir *John Hotham* ; which said Warrant was then delivered to this Deponent, being Constable, by Lieut. Col. *Duncombe*.

And this Deponent further saith, That he was by the said Forces put out of his House, and did with his Family go to *Beverley* ; and that after that, (*viz.*) the *Thursday* following, to this Deponent's best remembrance, he did see the King come to *Beverley*, to the Lady *Gees* House there ; where he, this Deponent, did often see the King, with Prince *Charles* and the Duke of *York* ; and that the Trained Bands were then raised in *Holdernefs* ; who were raised (as was generally reported) by the King's Command.

* Sir John Hotham's keeping Hull as a Garrison against the King, which was before this, was, it seems no Act of Hostility, in this Perjur'd Villain's account.

And this Deponent further saith, That the Night after the said Forces had as aforesaid, possessed themselves of this Deponent's House, Col. *Legard's* House was Plundered by them, being upon a *Monday* ; which aforesaid Entry of this Deponent's House, was the first * Act of Hostility that was committed in those Parts.

And this Deponent further saith, That after the said Sir Robert Strickland's said Company was gone from *Hull-Bridge*, having continued there about ten days, there

there then came to the said House Col. *Wivel*, with about seven hundred Foot Soldiers, who then took up his Quarters at *Hull-Bridge* aforesaid. And this *Deponent* further saith, That the Warrant he now produceth to this Court, is the same Original Warrant aforesaid spoken of.

And this *Deponent* further saith, That the General's Name of the said Forces that were there, and raised as aforesaid, was the E. of *Lindsey*; and that this *Deponent* was brought before him the said General, in the Name of *The King's Lord General*, for holding Intelligence with Sir *John Hotham*, then Governor of *Hull*; and because it was then informed to the said General, that he this *Deponent* had Provisions of Corn to send over unto *Ireland*, which he this *Deponent* was forbidden by the said General to send unto *Ireland* or any place else, without his or the King's Direction or Warrant first had in that behalf,

The aforesaid Warrant mentioned in the Deposition of the said William Cuthbert, is as followeth;

It is His Majesties Command, that you do not suffer any Victuals or Provision of what sort soever to be carried into the Town of *Hull* without His Majesties Special License first obtained; And of this you are not to fail at your Peril.

Dated at *Beverley*, 3 Julii, 1642.

Tho. Gower, Vi. Co.

To all Head Constables, and Constables in the East-Riding of the County of York, and to all other His Majesties Loyal Subjects.

John Bennet of *Harwood*, in the County of York, Glover, Sworn, and Examined, saith, That he being a Soldier under the King's Command, the first Day that the King's Standard was set up at *Nottingham*, which was about the middle of Summer last was six
S years,

years, he this Examinant did work at *Nottingham*, and that he did see the King within the Castle of *Nottingham*, within two or three days after the said Standard was so set up, and that the said Standard did fly the same day that the King was in the said Castle, as aforesaid, and this Deponent did hear that the King was at *Nottingham* the same day that the said Standard was first set up, and before.

And this Deponent further saith, That he this Deponent, and the Regiment of which he then was, had their Colours then given them; and Sir *William Penyman* being the Colonel of the said Regiment, the said Sir *William Penyman* was present with his said Regiment at that time.

And this Deponent further saith, That there was then there the E. of *Lindsey's* Regiment, who had then their Colours given them, and that the said E. of *Lindsey* was then also Proclaimed there *The King's General*; and that it was proclaimed then there likewise in the King's Name, at the Head of every Regiment, that the said Forces should fight against all that came to oppose the King, or any of His Followers; and in particular, against the E. of *Essex*, the Lord *Brooke*, and divers others; and that they the said E. of *Essex*, and Lord *Brooke*, and divers others were then proclaimed Traytors, and that the same Proclamations were Printed, and dispersed by the Officers of the Regiments throughout every Regiment.

And this Deponent further saith, That the said Standard was Advanced upon the highest Tower of *Nottingham* Castle; and that he this Deponent, did see the King often in *Nottingham* at that time that the said Forces continued at *Nottingham* as aforesaid, they continuing there for the space of one Month; and that the Drums for raising Volunteers to fight under the King's Command, were then beaten all the said County over, and divers other Forces were raised there.

And this Deponent further saith, That he did take up Arms under the King's Command as aforesaid, for fear of being Plundered; Sir *William Penyman* giving out,

out, that it were a good deed to Fire the said Town, because they would not go forth in the King's Service, and that this Deponent's Father did thereupon command him this Deponent to take up Arms as aforesaid, and that divers others (as they did confess) did then also take up Arms for the King for fear of being Plundered.

And this Deponent further saith, That in or about the Month of October 1642. he did see the King at Edge-Hill in Warwickshire, where he sitting on Horseback while his Army was drawn up before him,* did speak to the Colonel of every Regiment that passed by him, that he would have them speak to their Soldiers to encourage them to stand it, and to fight against the L. of Essex, the L. Brookes, Sir William Waller, and Sir William Balfour.

And this Deponent saith, That he did see many slain at the Fight at Edge-Hill, and that afterwards he did see a List brought in unto Oxford, of the Men which were slain in that Fight; by which it was reported, that there were slain 6559 Men.

And this Deponent further saith, Afterwards, in or about the Month of November 1642. he did see the King in the Head of his Army at Hounslow-Heath in Middlesex, Prince Rupert then standing by Him. And he, this Deponent, did then hear the King encourage several Regiments of Welshmen (then being in the Field) which had run away at Edge-Hill, saying unto them, That He did hope they would regain their Honour at Brentford, which they had lost at Edge-Hill.

William Brayne of Wixhall in the County of Salop, Gent. being Sworn and Examined, deposeth, That about August in the Year 1642. this Deponent saw the King at Nottingham, while the Standard was set up, and the Flag flying; and that he, this Deponent much about the same time Marched with the King's Army from Nottingham to Derby, the King himself being then in the Army; And about September the said Year, he, this Deponent, was put upon his Tryal at Shrewsbury as a Spy, before Sir Robert Heath, and other Commissioners

* How is it possible this Fellow could swear the King spoke this to every Colonel, seeing it was as they passed by; and when his Col. was passed by, he could hear no more.

tioners

fioners of Oyer and Terminer, the King then being in person in *Shrewsbury*.

Henry Hartford of *Stratford upon Avon*, in *Warwickshire*, Sworn and Examined, depofeth, That about Corn-Harveft in the Year 1642. this Deponent faw the King in *Nottingham* Caftle, while the Standard was fet upon one of the Towers of the faid Caftle, and the Flagg flying.

And he further faith and depofeth, That he, this Deponent, faw the King the fame Year about the Month of *November* in *Brainford* Town on Horfeback, with a great many Commanders about him, on a *Sunday* Morning, when on the *Saturday* Night before, there were a great many of the Parliaments Forces flain by the Kings Forces in the faid Town.

Robert Lacy of the Town and County of *Nottingham*, Painter, Sworn and Examined, depofeth, That he, this Deponent in Summer-time, in the Year 1642. by Order from my Lord *Beaumont*, did Paint the Standard-Pole which was fet up on the top of the old Tower of *Nottingham* Caftle: And he further faith, That he faw the King in the Town of *Nottingham* diverfe times while the Standard was up there, and the Flagg flying, and the King did lie at the Houfe of my Lord of *Clare* in *Nottingham* Town, and that he this Deponent did then and there fee the King many times.

Edward Roberts of *Bifhop-Caftle* in the County of *Salop*, Ironmonger, Sworn and Examined, faith and depofeth, That he this Deponent, faw the King in *Nottingham* Town while the Standard was fet upon the High Tower in *Nottingham* Caftle.

And he further faith, That he faw the King at the Head of the Army at *Shrewsbury*, upon the March towards *Edge-Hill*, and that he likewise faw the King in the Reer of his Army in *Keynton-Field*; and likewise faw the King upon the *Sunday* Morning at *Brainford*, after the Fight upon the *Saturday* next before, in the faid Town.

Robert

Robert Loads of *Cottam* in *Nottinghamshire*, *Tyler*, Sworn and Examined, saith, That he this Deponent, about *October* in the Year 1642. saw the King in the Reer of his Army in *Keynton* Field upon a *Sunday*, where he saw many slain on both sides.

And he further saith, That he saw the King in *Cornwal* in his Army, near the House of my Lord *Mobun*, about *Lestithiel*, about Corn-Harvest 1644.

Samuel Morgan of *Wellington* in *Com. Salop*, Felt-maker, Sworn and Examined, deposeth, That he this Deponent, upon a *Sunday* Morning in *Keynton-Field* saw the King upon the top of *Edge-Hill* in the Head of the Army, some two hours before the Fight, which happened after *Michaelmas* on a *Sunday* the Year 1642. And he this Deponent saw many men killed on both sides in the same time and place.

And he further saith, That in the Year 1644. he, this Deponent saw the King in his Army near *Cropredy-Bridge*, where he saw the King light off his Horse, and draw up the Body of his Army in person himself.

James Williams of *Ross* in *Herefordshire*, Shoemaker, Sworn and Examined, deposeth, That he this Deponent, about *October*, the Year 1642. saw the King in *Keynton-Fields* below the Hill in the Field with his Sword drawn in his hand, at which Time and Place there was a great Fight, and many kill'd on both sides.

And he further deposeth, That he saw the King at *Brainford* on a *Sunday* in the Forenoon, in *November* the Year abovesaid, while the King's Army was in the said Town, and round about it.

John Pyneger of the Parish of *Hainer* in the County of *Derby*, Yeoman, Aged 37 Years or thereabout, Sworn and Examined, saith, That about *August* 1642. he the Deponent saw the King's Standard flying upon one of the Towers of *Nottingham* Castle; and that upon the same day he saw the King in *Thurland-House*,

T

being

being the Earl of *Clare's* House in *Nottingham*, in the Company of Prince *Rupert*, Sir *John Digby*, and other Persons, both Noblemen and others; and that the King had at the same time in the said Town a Train of Artillery, and the said Town was then full of the King's Soldiers.

Samuel Lawson of *Nottingham*, Maltster, Aged Thirty Years or therabouts, Sworn and Examined, faith, That about *August 1642*. he this Deponent saw the Kings Standard brought forth of *Nottingham* Castle, born upon diverse Gentlemens Shoulders (who as the Report was) were Noblemen, and he saw the same by them carried to the Hill close adjoyning to the Castle, with a Herald before it, and there the said Standard was Erected with great Shoutings, Acclamations, and Sound of Drums and Trumpets, and that when the said Standard was so Erected, there was a Proclamation made, and that he this Deponent saw the King present at the Erecting thereof. And this Deponent further faith, That the said Town was then full of the Kings Soldiers, of which some quartered in this Deponents House, and that when the King with his said Forces went from the said Town, the Inhabitants of the said Town were forced to pay a great sum of money to the Kings Army, being threatened, that in case they should refuse to pay it, the said Town should be plundered.

Arthur Young, Citizen and Barber Chirurgeon of *London*, being Aged twenty nine Years or thereabouts, Sworn and Examined, faith, That he this Deponent was present at the Fight at *Edge-Hill* between the King's Army and the *Parliaments*, in *October 1642*. and he did then see the King's Standard advanced, and flying in his Army in the said Fight. And that he this Deponent did then take the King's said Standard in that Battle from the Kings Forces, which was afterwards taken from him by one *Middleton*, who was afterwards made a Colonel.

Thomas

Thomas Whittington of the Town and County of *Nottingham*, Shoemaker, Aged twenty two Years, sworn and examined, faith, that he, this *Deponent* saw the King in the Town of *Nottingham*, the same day that his Standard was first set up in *Nottingham* Castle, being about the beginning of *August* 1642. and that the King then went from his Lodgings at *Thurland* House, towards the said Castle; and that he, this *Deponent* saw him several times about that time in *Nottingham*, there being divers Soldiers at that time in the said Town, who were called by the name of *The King's Soldiers*.

And this *Deponent* further faith, that he saw the King's Standard flying upon the *Old Tower* in the said Castle.

John Thomas of *LLangollen* in the County of *Denbigh*, Husbandman, Aged twenty five Years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, faith, that he saw the King at *Brainford* in the County of *Middlesex*, on a *Saturday* Night at twelve of the Clock, soon after *Edge-Hill* Fight, attended with Horse and Foot Soldiers, the King being then on Horseback with his Sword by his side; and this *Deponent* then heard the King say to the said soldiers as he was riding through the said Town, Gentlemen, You lost your Honour at *Edge-Hill*, I hope you will regain it again here; or Words to that effect.

And this *Deponent* further faith, that there were some skirmishes between the King's Army and the *Parliament's* Army, at the same time, both before and after the King spake the said Words, and that many men were slain on both sides.

Richard Blomfield, Citizen and Weaver of *London*, Aged thirty five Years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, faith, that at the Defeat of the E. of *Essex's* Army in *Cornwal*, he this *Deponent* was there, it being at the latter end of the Month of *August*, or beginning of *September* 1644. At which time, he this *Deponent* saw the King at the Head of his Army, near *Foy*, on Horseback: And further faith, that he did

did then see divers of the L. of *Essex's* Souldiers plundered, contrary to Articles then lately made, near the person of the King.

William Jones of *Uske* in the County of *Monmouth*, Husbandman, Aged twenty two Years, or thereabouts, fworn and examined, saith, That he this Deponent did see the King within two Miles of *Naseby-Field*, the King then coming fromwards *Harborough*, Marching in the Head of his Army, towards *Naseby-Field* where the Fight was; and that he this Deponent did then see the King ride up to the Regiment which was Col. *St. Georges*, and there the Deponent did hear the King ask the Regiment, *Whether they were willing to fight for him?* To which the Soldiers made an Acclamation, crying, *All, All.*

And this Deponent further saith, that he saw the King in *Leicester* with his Forces, the same day that the King's Forces had taken it from the *Parliaments* Forces.

And this Deponent further saith, That he saw the King in his Army that besieged *Glocester* at the time of the said Siege.

Humphrey Browne of *Whitfondine* in the County of *Rutland*, Husbandman, Aged twenty two Years or thereabouts, fworn and examined, saith, That at such time as the Town of *Leicester* was taken by the King's Forces, being in or about *June 1645*. *Newark* Fort in *Leicester* aforesaid was surrendred to the King's Forces upon Composition, that neither Cloaths nor Money should be taken away from any of the Soldiers of that Fort which had so surrendred, nor any violence offered to them; and that assoon as the said Fort was upon such Composition so surrendred as aforesaid, the King's Soldiers contrary to the Articles, fell upon the Soldiers of the said Fort, stript, cut and wounded many of them; whereupon, one of the King's Officers rebuking some of those that did so abuse the said *Parliaments* Soldiers, this Deponent did then hear the King reply, *I do not care if they cut them three times more,*

more, for they are mine Enemies, or words to that effect: And that the King was then on Horseback, in bright Armour, in the said Town of *Leicester*.

David Evans of *Abergenny*, in the County of *Monmouth*, Smith, Aged about twenty three years, Sworn and Examined, saith, That about half an hour before the Fight at *Naseby*, about Midsummer in *June*, 1645. he saw the King marching up to the Battail in the Head of his Army, being about half a mile from the place where the said Battail was fought.

Diogenes Edwards, of *Carston* in the County of *Salop*, Butcher, Aged 21 years or thereabouts, Sworn and Examined, saith, That in *June* 1645. he this Deponent did see the King in the Head of his Army, an hour and a half before the Fight in *Naseby* Field, marching up to the Battail, being then a mile and a half from the said Field: And this Deponent saith, That he did afterwards the same day see many slain at the said Battail.

Giles Gryce of *Wellington*, in *Shropshire*, Gent. Sworn and Examined, Deposeth, That he this Deponent, saw the King in the Head of his Army, at *Cropredy*-*Bridge*, with his Sword drawn in his Hand, that day when the Fight was against *Sir William Waller*, on a *Fryday*, as this Deponent remembreth, in the Year 1644, about the Month of *Iuly*, and he further saith,

That he saw the King in the same Summer, in *Cornwall*, in the Head of his Army, about *Lestithiel* at such time as the Earl of *Essex* was there with his Army. And he further saith,

That he also saw the King in the Head of his Army, at the second Fight near *Newberry*. And further saith,

That he saw the King in the Front of the Army, in *Naseby* Field, having Back and Breast on: And he further saith,

That he saw the King in the Head of the Army, at what time the Town of *Leicester* was stormed, and

saw the King Ride into the Town of *Leicester*, after the Town was taken, and he saw a great many men killed on both sides, at *Leicester*, and many Houses Plundered.

John Vinson of *Damorham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. Sworn and Examined, saith, That he did see the King at the First *Newberry* Fight, about the Month of *September*, 1643. in the Head of his Army, where this Deponent did see many slain on both sides; this Deponent also saith,

That he did see the King at the Second Battail at *Newberry*, about the Month of *November*, 1644. where the King was at the Head of his Army in Complete Armour, with his Sword drawn; and this Deponent did then see the King Lead up Colonel *Thomas Howards* Regiment of Horse, and did hear him make a Speech to the Soldiers, in the Head of that Regiment, to this effect, that is to say, *That the said Regiment should stand to him that Day, for that his Crown lay upon the Point of the Sword, and if he lost that Day, he lost his Honour and his Crown for ever.* And that this Deponent did see many slain on both sides, at that Battail. This Deponent further saith,

That he did see the King in the Battail at *Naseby* Field, in *Northamptonshire*, on or about the Month of *June*, 1645. where the King was then Completely Armed with Back, Breast and Helmet, and had his Sword drawn, where the King himself after his Party was Routed, did Rally up the Horse, and caused them to stand; and at that time this Deponent did see many slain on both sides.

George Seely of *London*, Cordwainer, Sworn and Examined, saith, That he did see the King at the Head of a Brigade of Horse, at the Siege of *Gloucester*, and did also see the King at the First Fight at *Newberry*, about the Month of *September*, 1643. where the King was at the Head of a Regiment of Horse; and that there were many slain at that Fight on both sides: This Deponent also saith,

That

That he did see the *King* at the second Fight at *Newberry*, which was about *November*, 1644. where the *King* was in the middle of his Army.

John Moore of the City of *Corke* in *Ireland*, Gent. Sworn and Examined, saith, That at the last Fight at *Newberry*, about the Month of *November*, 1644. he this Deponent did see the *King* in the middle of the Horse, with his Sword drawn, and that he did see abundance of men at that Fight slain upon the ground, on both sides : This Deponent also saith,

That he did see the *King* ride into *Leicester*, before a Party of Horse, the same day that *Leicester* was taken by the *Kings* Forces, which was about the Month of *June*, 1645.

This Deponent further saith, That he did see the *King* before the Fight at *Leicester*, at *Cropredy-Bridge*, in the midst of a Regiment of Horse, And that he did see many slain at the same time, when the *King* was in the Fight at *Cropredy-Bridge*.

And Lastly, this Deponent saith, That he did see the *King*, at the head of a Regiment of Horse at *Naseby* Fight about the Month of *June*, 1645. where he did see abundance of men Cut, Shot and slain.

Thomas Ives of *Boyset*, in the County of *Northampton*, Husbandman, Sworn and Examined, saith, That he did see the *King* in his Army at the First Fight of *Newberry*, in *Berkshire*, in the Month of *September*, 1643. and that he did see many slain at that Fight, he this Deponent and others with a Party of Horse, being Commanded to face the *Parliaments* Forces, whilst the Foot did fetch off the Dead.

He saith also, That he did see the *King* advance with his Army to the Fight at *Naseby* Field in *Northamptonshire*, about *June*, 1645. and that he did again at that Fight see the *King* come off with a Party of Horse after that his Army was Routed in the Field, and that there were many Men slain on both parts, at that Battail at *Naseby*.

Thomas

Thomas Rawlins of *Hanslop* in the County of *Bucks*, Gent. sworn and examined, faith, That he did see the King near *Foy* in *Cornwal* in or about the Month of *July* 1644. at the Head of a Party of Horfe; and this Deponent did see some Soldiers plunder after the Articles of Agreement made between the King's Army and the Parliaments Forces, which Soldiers were so plundered by the King's Party, not far distant from the Person of the King.

Thomas Read of *Maidstone* in the County of *Kent*, Gent. sworn and examined, faith, That presently after the laying down of Arms in *Cornwal*, between *Lestithiel* and *Foy*, in or about the latter end of the Month of *August*, or the beginning of *September* 1644. he this Deponent, did see the King in the Head of a Guard of Horfe.

James Crosby of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, Barber, sworn and examined, faith, That at the first Fight at *Newbury*, about the time of Barley-Harvest 1643. he this Deponent did see the King riding from *Newbury* Town, accompanied with divers Lords and Gentlemen, towards the place where his Forces were then fighting with the Parliaments Army.

Samuel Burden of *Lyneham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. sworn and examined, faith, That he, this Deponent, was at *Nottingham* in or about the Month of *August*, 1642. at which time he saw a Flagg flying upon the Tower of *Nottingham* Castle; and that the next day afterwards he did see the King at *Nottingham*, when the said Flagg was still flying, which Flagg this Deponent then heard was the King's Standard.

He faith also, That he did afterwards see the King at *Cropredy-Bridge* in the Head of his Army, in a Fallow Field there, and did see the King in pursuit of *Sir William Waller's* Army, being then Routed, which was about the Month of *July* 1644. And at that time this Deponent did see many People slain upon the Ground.

And

And further this Deponent faith, That in or about the Month of *Novemb.* 1644. he did see the King at the last Fight at *Newbury*, riding up and down the Field from Regiment to Regiment, whilst his Army was there fighting with the Parliaments Forces; and this Deponent did see many Men slain at that Battel on both sides.

Michael Potts of *Sharpereton* in the County of *Northumberland*, Vintner, Sworn and Examined, deposeth, That he, this Deponent, saw the King in the Head of the Army in the Fields about a Mile and a half from *Newbury* Town, upon the Heath, the day before the Fight was, it being about Harvest-tide in the Year 1643.

And he further faith, That he saw the King on the day after, when the Fight was, standing near a great Piece of Ordnance in the Fields.

And he further faith, That he saw the King in the second *Newbury* Fight in the Head of his Army, being after or about *Michaelmas* 1644.

And he further faith, That he saw a great many Men slain at both the said Battels.

And he further faith, That he saw the King in the Head of his Army near *Cropredy*-Bridge in the Year 1644.

And he further faith, That he saw the King in the Head of his Army in *Cornwal*, near *Lestithiel*, while the E. of *Effex* lay there with his Forces, about the middle of Harvest 1644.

George Cornwal of *Aston* in the County of *Hereford*, Ferryman, Aged fifty Years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, faith, That he, this Deponent, did see the King near *Cropredy*-Bridge, about the time of Mowing of Corn, 1644. in the Van of the Army there, and that he drew up his Army upon a Hill, and faced the Parliaments Army; and that there was thereupon a Skirmish between the King's and the Parliaments Army; where he, this Deponent, saw divers persons slain on both sides.

The Examination of Henry Gooche of Grayes-Inn in the County of Middlesex, Gent. Sworn and Examined.

This Deponent saith, That upon or about the Thirtieth day of September last, he this Deponent, was in the Isle of Wight, and had Access unto, and Discourse with the King, by the means of the L. Marquess of Hartford, and Commissary Morgan; where this Deponent told the King, that his Majesty had many Friends; and that since his Majesty was pleased to justifie the Parliaments first taking up Arms, the most of the Presbyterian Party both Soldiers and others, would stick close to him; To which the King answered thus, That he would have all his old Friends know, that though for the present he was contented to give the Parliament leave to call their own War what they pleased, yet that he neither did at that time, nor ever should decline the Justice of his own Cause.

And this Deponent told the King, that his Business was much retarded, and that neither Col. Thomas, nor any other could proceed to Action, through want of Commission.

The King answered, That he being upon a Treaty, would not dishonour himself; but that if he, this Deponent would take the pains to go over to the Prince his Son (who had full Authority from him) he the said Deponent, or any for him, should receive whatsoever Commissions should be desired; and to that purpose, he would appoint the Marquess of Hartford to write to his Son in his Name, and was pleased to express much of Joy and Affection, that his good Subjects would ingage themselves for his Restauration.

Robert Williams of the Parish of St. Martins in the County of Cornwall, Husbandman, Aged twenty three Years, or thereabouts, sworn and examined, saith, That he this Deponent, did see the King marching in the Head of his Army about September, 1644. a Mile from Lestithiel in Cornwall, in Armor, with a short Coat over it unbuttoned.

And

And this Deponent further faith, That he saw him after that in St. Austell Downes, drawing up his Army.

And this Deponent faith, he did after that see the King in the Head of his Army near Foy, and that the E. of Essex and his Army did then lie within one Mile and a half of the King's Army.

The Witnesses being Examined as aforesaid, the Court Adjourned for an hour.

25 Jan. 1648. post Merid.

Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Daniel Blagrove.

John Okey.

Henry Marten.

John Carew.

Thomas Horton.

Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.

Owen Roe.

Sir John Bourchier, Kt.

Thomas Scot.

John Moore.

Oliver Crowwell.

William Goffe.

Richard Deane.

Cornelius Holland.

Thomas Harrison.

Robert Lilbourne.

John Downs.

Edmond Ludlow.

Peregr. Pelham.

Sir Henry Mildmay.

John Jones.

Valentine Wanton.

Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.

Sir Thomas Maleverer Bar.

Adrian Scroope.

Henry Smith.

Anthony Stapeley.

John Huson.

Sir William Constable, Bar.

John Barkstead.

Sir John Danvers.

Edward Whalley.

Thomas Waite.

William Purefoy.

Thomas Pride.

John Fry.

John Blackistone.

Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.

John Venn.

Robert Tichbourne.

Humphrey Edwards.

Peter Temple.

Vincent Potter.

William Cawley.

Isaac Ewers.

Richard Price of London, Scrivener, was produced a Witness to the Charge against the King, who being Sworn and Examined, faith,

That upon occasion of some tampering by the King's Agents with the Independants in and about London, to draw

draw them from the Parliaments Cause, to the King's Party ; and this being discovered by some of those so tampered with, unto sundry Members of the Committee of Safety, who directed a carrying on of a seeming Compliance with the King, he, this Deponent did travel to Oxford, in January 1643. having a safe Conduct under the Kings Hand and Seal, which he, this Deponent knoweth to be so, for that the King did own it when he was told that this Deponent was the man that came to Oxon with that safe Conduct.

And this Deponent also saith, That after sundry Meetings between him and the E. of Bristol, about the drawing of the Independents unto the King's Cause against the Parliament, the Substance of the Discourse, at which Meetings the said Earl told this Deponent, was communicated to the King, he, this Deponent, was by the said Earl brought to the King to confer further about that Business ; where the King declared, *That he was very sensible that the Independents had been the most active men in the Kingdom for the Parliament against him ; and thereupon perswaded this Deponent to use all means to expedite their turning to Him and his Cause : And for their better encouragement, the King promised in the Word of a King, That, if they, the Independents, would turn to him, and be active for him against the Parliament, as they had been active for them against him, then he would grant them whatsoever freedom they would desire : And the King did then refer this Deponent unto the E. of Bristol, for the further prosecuting of the said Business.*

And the said Earl thereupon (this Deponent being withdrawn from the King) did declare unto this Deponent, and willed him to impart the same unto the Independents, for their better encouragement, *That the King's Affairs prospered well in Ireland : That, the Irish Subjects had given the Rebels (meaning the Parliaments Forces) a great Defeat : That, the King had sent the Lord Byron with a small Party towards Cheshire, and that he was greatly multiplied, and had a considerable Army, and was then before Namptwich, and would be strengthened with more Soldiers out of Ireland, which were come and expected*

pedited dayly: And when this Deponent was to depart out of Oxford, four safe Conducts with Blanks in them, for the inserting of what Names this Deponent pleased, were delivered to him, under the King's Hand and Seal; and one Ogle was sent out of Oxon with this Deponent, to treat about the Delivering up of Alisbury to the King, it being then a Garrison for the Parliament, and at the same time Oxford was a Garrison for the King.

Several Papers and Letters of the King's, under his own Hand, and of his own Writing, and other Papers are produced and read in open Court.

Mr. Thomas Challoner also reporteth several Papers and Letters of the Kings writing, and under the Kings own Hand.

After which the Court sate private.

The Court taking into Consideration the whole Matter in Charge against the King, passed these Votes following, as preparatory to the Sentence against the King, but Ordered that they should not be binding finally to conclude the Court, viz.

Resolved upon the whole matter, *That this Court will Proceed to sentence of Condemnation against Charles Stuart, King of England.*

Resolved, &c. *That the Condemnation of the King shall be for a Tyrant, Traitor and Murtherer.*

That the Condemnation of the King, shall be likewise for being a publique Enemy to the Common-wealth of England.

That this Condemnation shall extend to Death.

Memorandum, *The last aforementioned Commissioners were present at these Votes.*

The Court being then moved concerning the Deposition and Deprivation of the King before, and in Order to that part of his Sentence, which concerned his Execution, thought fit to defer the Consideration thereof to some other time, and Ordered the Draught

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of a Sentence grounded upon the laid Votes, to be accordingly prepared by Mr. Scot, Mr. Marten, Col. Harrison, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Say, Commissary Gen. Ireton and Mr. Love, , or any three of them, with a Blank for the manner of his Death.

Ordered, *That the Members of this Court who are in and about London, and are not now present, be Summoned to attend the Service of this Court to morrow at One of the Clock in the Afternoon; for whom Summons were issued forth accordingly.*

The Court Adjourned it self till the Morrow at One of the Clock in the Afternoon.

Veneris, 26 Jan. 1648. post Merid.

Painted Chamber,

Three Proclamations. *The Court called.*

Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

Oliver Cromwell.

Henry Ireton.

Sir Hardress Waller.

Valentine Wanton.

Tho. Harrison.

Edward Whalley.

Thomas Pride.

Isaac Ewers.

Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.

Sir John Danvers.

Sir Henry Mildmay, Kt.

William Heveningham.

Henry Martin.

William Purefoy.

John Blakistone.

Gilbert Millington.

Sir William Constable, Bar.

Edmond Ludlow.

John Hutchinson.

Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.

Robert Tichbourne.

Owen Roe.

Adrian Scroope.

John Dixwell.

Simon Meyne.

Peter Temple.

Thomas Wait.

Cornelius Holland.

Thomas Scot.

Francis Allen.

Richard Deane.

John Okey.

John Huson.

John Carew.

John Jones.

Miles Corbet.

William Goffe.

Peregrine Pelham.

John Moore.

William Lord Mounson.

Humphrey Edwards.

Thomas Wogan.

Sir Gregory Norton.

John Dove.

John

John Venn.
William Cawley.
Anthony Stapeley.
John Downes.
Thomas Horton.
Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle.
Nicholas Love.
Augustine Garland.

George Fleetwood.
James Temple.
Daniel Blagrove.
John Browne.
Henry Smith.
John Berkstead.
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bar.
Vincent Potter.

62 Com-
missioners
present.

Here the Court fate private.

The Draught of a Sentence against the King, is according to the Votes of the 25th. Instant, prepared, and after several Readings, Debates and Amendments, by the Court thereupon,

Resolved, &c. That *this Court do agree to the Sentence now read.*

That, the said Sentence shall be ingrossed.

That, the King be brought to Westminster to morrow, to receive his Sentence.

The Court Adjourned it self till the Morrow at Ten of the Clock in the Morning to this Place; the Court giving notice that they then intended to Adjourn from thence to *Westminster-Hall*.

Painted

Sabbati, 27 Jan. 1648.

Painted Chamber.

*Three Proclamations being made, The Court is
thereupon called.*

Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

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| <i>Oliver Cromwell.</i> | <i>John Hason.</i> |
| <i>Henry Ireton.</i> | <i>William Goffe.</i> |
| <i>Sir Hardress Waller.</i> | <i>Cornelius Holland.</i> |
| <i>Valentine Wauton.</i> | <i>John Carew.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Harrison.</i> | <i>John Jones.</i> |
| <i>Edward Whalley.</i> | <i>Miles Corbet.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Pride.</i> | <i>Francis Allen.</i> |
| <i>Isaac Ewers.</i> | <i>Peregrine Pelham.</i> |
| <i>Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.</i> | <i>Tho. Challoner.</i> |
| <i>Sir John Danvers.</i> | <i>John Moore.</i> |
| <i>Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.</i> | <i>William Say.</i> |
| <i>Sir John Bourchier, Kt.</i> | <i>John Alured.</i> |
| <i>William Heveningham.</i> | <i>Henry Smith.</i> |
| <i>Henry Marten.</i> | <i>Humphrey Edwards.</i> |
| <i>William Purefoy.</i> | <i>Gregory Clement.</i> |
| <i>John Berkstead.</i> | <i>Thomas Wogan.</i> |
| <i>Matthew Tomlinson.</i> | <i>Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.</i> |
| <i>John Blackstone.</i> | <i>Edmund Harvey.</i> |
| <i>Gilbert Millington.</i> | <i>John Venn.</i> |
| <i>Sir William Constable, Bar.</i> | <i>Thomas Scott.</i> |
| <i>Edmund Ludlow.</i> | <i>Tho. Andrews, Ald. of Lond.</i> |
| <i>John Hutchinson.</i> | <i>William Cawley.</i> |
| <i>Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.</i> | <i>Anthony Stapeley.</i> |
| <i>Robert Tichbourne.</i> | <i>John Downes.</i> |
| <i>Owen Roe.</i> | <i>Thomas Horton.</i> |
| <i>Robert Lilbourne.</i> | <i>Tho. Hamond.</i> |
| <i>Adrian Scroope.</i> | <i>John Lisle.</i> |
| <i>Richard Deawe.</i> | <i>Nicholas Love.</i> |
| <i>John Okey.</i> | <i>Vincent Potter.</i> |
| <i>Augustine Garland.</i> | <i>John Dixwell.</i> |
| <i>George Fleetwood.</i> | <i>Simon Meyne.</i> |
| <i>James Temple.</i> | <i>Peter Temple.</i> |
| <i>Daniel Blagrove.</i> | <i>Thomas Waite.</i> |
| <i>John Browne.</i> | |

The

The Sentence agreed on, and ordered by this Court
26 Instant, to be ingrossed, being accordingly ingrossed, was read.

Resolved, *That the Sentence now read shall be the Sentence of this Court for the Condemnation of the King, which shall be Read and Published in Westminster-Hall this day.*

The Court hereupon considered of certain Instructions for the Lord President, to manage the Business of this day in Westminster-Hall; and Ordered,

That the Lord President do manage what Discourse shall happen between him and the King, according to his discretion, with the advice of his two Assistants; and that in case the King shall still persist in excepting against the Courts Jurisdiction, to let him know that the Court do still affirm their Jurisdiction.

That, in case the King shall submit to the Jurisdiction of the Court, and pray a Copy of the Charge, that then the Court do withdraw and advise.

That, in case the King shall move any thing else worth the Courts Consideration, that the Lord President upon Advice of his said Assistants, do give Order for the Courts withdrawing to advise.

That, in case the King shall not submit to Answer, and there happen no such Cause of withdrawing, that then the Lord President do command the Sentence to be read; but that the Lord President should hear the King say what he would before the Sentence, and not after.

And thereupon it being further moved, Whether the Lord President should use any Discourse or Speeches to the King, as in the case of other Prisoners to be condemned, was usual before the Publishing of the Sentence, received general Directions to do therein as he should see cause, and to press what he should conceive most seasonable and futable to the Occasion. And it was further directed, That after the Reading of the Sentence, the Lord President should declare, that the same was the Sentence, Judgment and Resolution of the whole Court, and that the Commissioners should thereupon signify their Consent by standing up.

The Court forthwith Adjourned it self to Westminster-Hall.

27 Jan. 1648. *post Merid.**Westminster-Hall.*

The Lord President, and the rest of the Commissioners come together from the *Painted Chamber* to *Westminster-Hall*, according to their Adjournment, and take their Seats there, as formerly; and three Proclamations being made for Attendance and Silence,

*The Court is called.**The Commissioners Present.*

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President of this Court.

*John Lisle.**William Say.**Oliver Crowwell.**Henry Ireton.**Sir Hardress Waller*, Knight.*Sir John Bourchier*, Kt.*William Heveningham.**Isaac Pennington*, Ald. of Lond.*Henry Marten.**William Puresfoy.**John Barkstead.**Matthew Tomlinson.**John Blackstone.**Gilbert Millington.**Sir William Constable*, Bar.*Edmond Ludlow.**John Hutchinson.**Sir Michael Livesey*, Bar.*Robert Tichbourne.**Owen Roe.**Robert Lilbourne.**Adrian Scroope.**Richard Deane.**John Okey.**John Huson.**William Goffe.**Cornelius Holland.**John Carew.**John Jones.**Miles Corbet.**Francis Allen.**Peregr. Pelham.**Daniel Blagrove.**Valentine Wauton.**Thomas Harrison.**Edward Whalley.**Thomas Pride.**Isaac Ewers.**Tho. L. Grey* of Groby.*Sir John Danvers.**Sir Thomas Maleverer* Bar.*John Moore.**John Alured.**Henry Smith.**Humphrey Edwards.**Gregory Clement.**Thomas Wogan.**Sir Gregory Norton*, Bar.*Edmond Harvey.**John Venn.**Thomas Scot.**Tho. Andrews*, Ald. of Lond.*William Cavley.**Anthony Stapeley.**John Downs.**Thomas Horton.**Thomas Hamond.**Nicholas Love.**Vincent Potter.**Augustine Garland.**John Dixwell.**George Fleetwood.**Simon Meyne.**James Temple.**Peter Temple.**Thomas Waite.*

67 Commissioners
present.

The

The Prisoner is brought to the Bar, and Proclamation is again (as formerly) made for Silence ; and the Captain of the Guard ordered to take into his Custody all such as should disturb the Court.

The *President* stood up, with an intention of address to the People, and not to the Prisoner, who had so often declined the Jurisdiction of the Court ; which the Prisoner observing, moved he might be heard before Judgment given ; whereof he received assurance from the Court, and that he should be heard after he had heard them first.

Whereupon the Court proceeded, and remembered the great Assembly then present, of what had formerly passed betwixt the Court and the Prisoner, the Charge against him in the Name of the People of *England*, exhibited to them, being a Court constituted by the Supream Authority of *England*, his refusal three several days and times to own them as a Court, or to answer to the Matter of his Charge, his thrice recorded Contumacy, and other his Contempts and Defaults in the precedent Courts ; upon which, the Court then declared, that they might not be wanting to themselves, or to the Trust reposed in them, and that no mans Wilfulness ought to serve him to prevent Justice ; and that they had therefore thought fit to take the substance of what had passed, into their serious consideration, to wit, the Charge, and the Prisoners Contumacy, and the Confession which in Law doth arise upon that Contumacy, the Notoriety of the Fact charged, and other the Circumstances material in the Cause ; and upon the whole Matter, had resolved and agreed upon a Sentence then ready to be pronounced against the Prisoner : But that in regard of his desire to be further heard, they were ready to hear him as to any thing material which he would offer to their consideration before the Sentence given, relating to the Defence of himself concerning the Matter charged ; and did then signifie so much to the Prisoner ; who made use of that leave given, only to protest his respects to the Peace of the Kingdom, and Liberty of the Subject ; and to say, That *the same made*
him

him at last to desire, That having somewhat to say that concerned both, he might before the Sentence given, be heard in the Painted Chamber, before the Lords and Commons; saying, it was fit to be heard, if it were Reason which he should offer, whereof they were Judges: And pressing that Point much, he was forthwith answered by the Court, and told,

That, that which he had moved was a declining of the Jurisdiction of the Court, whereof he had Caution frequently before given him.

That, it sounded to further delay, of which he had been too much guilty.

That, the Court being founded (as often had been said) upon the Authority of the Commons of England, in whom rested the Supream Jurisdiction, the motion tended to set up another, or a co-ordinate Jurisdiction in derogation of the Power whereby the Court sate, and to the manifest delay of their Justice; in which regard, he was told, they might forthwith proceed to Sentence; yet for his further satisfaction of the entire Pleasure and Judgment of the Court, upon what he had then said, he was told, and accordingly it was declared, that the Court would withdraw half an hour.

The Prisoner by command being withdrawn, the Court make their recess into the Room called The Court of Wards, considered of the Prisoners Motion, and gave the President Direction to declare their Disfent thereto, and to proceed to the Sentence.

The Court being again set, and the Prisoner returned, was according to their Direction, informed, That he had in effect received his Answer before the Court withdrew, and that their Judgment was (as to his Motion) the same to him before declared; That, the Court acted, and were Judges appointed by the Highest Authority, and that Judges were not to delay, no more than to deny Justice; That, they were good words in the great old Charter of England, Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli differemus Justitiam vel Rectum. That, their Duty called upon them to avoid further Delays, and to proceed to Judgment; which was their unanimous Resolution.

Unto

Unto which, the Prisoner replied, and insisted upon his former Desires, confessing a delay, but that it was important for the Peace of the Kingdom, and therefore pressed again with much earnestness to be heard before the Lords and Commons.

In Answer whereto, he was told by the Court, That they had fully before considered of his Proposal, and must give him the same Answer to his renewed desires, and that they were ready to proceed to Sentence, if he had nothing more to say.

Whereunto he subjoyned, He had no more to say; but desired that might be Entred which he had said.

Hereupon, after some Discourse used by the President, for vindicating the Parliaments Justice, explaining the Nature of the Crimes of which the Prisoner stood charged, and for which he was to be condemned; and by way of Exhortation to the Prisoner, to a serious Repentance for his high Transgressions against God and the People, and to prepare for his Eternal Condition;

The Sentence formerly agreed upon, and put down in Parchment-Writing, O Yes being first made for Silence, was by the Courts Command, solemnly pronounced and given: the Tenor whereof followeth.

Whereas the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, have by their late Act, Entituled, An Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of an High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of CHARLES STUART K. of England; Authorized and Constituted us an High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of the said CHARLES STUART, for the Crimes and Treasons in the said Act mentioned; By vertue whereof, the said CHARLES STUART hath been three several times convented before this High Court, where, the first Day, being Saturday the Twentieth of Jan. instant, in pursuance of the said Act, a Charge of high Treason and other high Crimes, was in the behalf of the People of England, Exhibited against him, and read openly unto him, wherein he was charged, That he the said CHARLES

A a

STUART,

STUART, being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a limited Power, to govern by and according to the Law of the Land, and not otherwise ; and by his Trust, Oath and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their Rights and Liberties ; Yet nevertheless, out of a wicked Design to erect and uphold in himself an Unlimited and Tyrannical Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, and to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all Redress and Remedy of Misgovernment, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom were reserved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments, or National Meetings in Council, he, the said CHARLES STUART, for accomplishment of such his Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his Adherents in his and their wicked Practices, to the same End, hath trayterously and maliciously Levied War against the present Parliament, and People therein represented, as with the Circumstances of Time and Place, is in the said Charge more particularly set forth ; And that he hath thereby caused and procured many Thousands of the free People of this Nation to be slain ; and by Divisions, Parties and Insurrections within this Land, by Invasions from Foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, he the said CHARLES STUART hath not only maintained and carried on the said War both by Sea and Land, but also hath renewed or caused to be renewed the said War against the Parliament and good People of this Nation in this present Year 1648. in several Counties and Places in this Kingdom in the Charge specified ; and that he hath for that purpose given his Commission to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby besides multitudes of other persons, many, such as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed, for the Safety of this Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had Entertainment and Commission for the continuing and renewing of the War and Hostility against the said Parliament and People ; and that by the said cruel and unnatural War so levied, continued and renewed, much innocent Blood of the free People of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families undone, the Publick Treasure wasted, Trade

Trade obstructed, and miserably decayed, vast expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation; and that he still continues his Commission to his said Son, and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters associated with him, from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned by his Procurement, and on his behalf; And that all the said wicked Designs, Wars and evil Practices of him the said CHARLES STUART, were still carried on for the Advancement and Upholding of the Personal Interest of Will, Power and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Family, against the Publick Interest, Common Right, Liberty, Justice and Peace of the People of this Nation; And that he thereby hath been and is the Occasioner, Author and Continuer of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage, & Mischief to this Nation, acted and committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby: Whereupon, the Proceedings and Judgment of this Court were prayed against him, as a Tyrant, Traytor and Murtherer, and publick Enemy to the Commonwealth, as by the said Charge more fully appeareth: To which Charge being read unto him as aforesaid, He the said CHARLES STUART was required to give his Answer; but he refused so to do. And upon Monday, the twenty second day of January instant, being again brought before this Court, and there required to answer directly to the said Charge, he still refused so to do; whereupon his Default and Contumacy was Entred: and the next day, being the third time brought before the Court, Judgment was then prayed against him on the behalf of the People of England, for his Contumacy, and for the Matters contained against him in the said Charge, as taking the same for confest, in regard of his refusing to Answer thereto: Yet notwithstanding, this Court (not willing to take advantage of his Contempt) did once more require him to Answer to the said Charge, but he again refused so to do; Upon which his several Defaults, this Court might justly have proceeded to Judgment against him, both for his Contumacy, and the Matters of the Charge, taking the same for confest, as aforesaid.

Yet

Yet nevertheless, this Court for their own clearer Information, and further satisfaction, have thought fit to examine Witnesses upon Oath, and take notice of other Evidences touching the Matters contained in the said Charge, which accordingly they have done.

Now therefore upon serious and mature deliberation of the Premises, and consideration had of the Notoreity of the Matters of Fact charged upon him as aforesaid, this Court is in judgment and Conscience satisfied that he the said CHARLES STUART is guilty of Levying War against the said Parliament, and People, and maintaining and continuing the same; for which in the said Charge he stands accused, and by the general course of his Government, Councils and Practices before and since this Parliament began (which have been, and are notorious and publick, and the Effects whereof remain abundantly upon Record) this Court is fully satisfied in their Judgments and Consciences, that he hath been and is guilty of the wicked Designs and Endeavors in the said Charge set forth, and that the said War hath been Levied, maintained and continued by him, as aforesaid, in prosecution and for accomplishment of the said Designs; And that he hath been and is the Occasioner, Author and Continuer of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of High Treason, and of the Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted and committed in the said War, and occasioned thereby. For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That he the said CHARLES STUART, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer and Publick Enemy to the good People of this Nation, shall be put to Death by the severing of his Head from his Body.

This Sentence being read, the President spake as followeth;

The Sentence now Read and Published, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Resolution of the whole Court.

Whereupon the whole Court stood up and owned it.

The Prisoner being withdrawn, the Court Adjourned it self forthwith into the Painted Chamber.

The

The Court being sate in the *Painted Chamber*, according to Adjournment from *Westminster-Hall* aforesaid ;

Painted Chamber.

Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, Lord President.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>John Lisle.</i> | <i>Robert Tichbourne.</i> |
| <i>William Say.</i> | <i>Nicholas Love.</i> |
| <i>Oliver Cromwell.</i> | <i>Owen Roe.</i> |
| <i>Henry Ireton.</i> | <i>Robert Lilbourne.</i> |
| <i>Sir Hardress Waller.</i> | <i>Adrian Scroope.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Waite.</i> | <i>Richard Deane.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Harriscn.</i> | <i>John Okey.</i> |
| <i>Edward Whalley.</i> | <i>Simon Meyne.</i> |
| <i>Thomas Pride.</i> | <i>John Hason.</i> |
| <i>Isaac Ewers.</i> | <i>William Goffe.</i> |
| <i>Tho. Lord Grey of Groby.</i> | <i>Cornelius Holland.</i> |
| <i>Sir John Danvers.</i> | <i>John Carew.</i> |
| <i>Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet.</i> | <i>John Jones.</i> |
| <i>Sir John Bouchier, Kt.</i> | <i>Miles Corbet.</i> |
| <i>William Heveningham.</i> | <i>Francis Allen.</i> |
| <i>Isaac Pennington Ald. of Lond.</i> | <i>Peregrine Pelham.</i> |
| <i>John Downes.</i> | <i>Tho. Challoner.</i> |
| <i>Henry Marten.</i> | <i>John Moore.</i> |
| <i>John Berkstead.</i> | <i>John Alured.</i> |
| <i>Matthew Tomlinson.</i> | <i>Henry Smith.</i> |
| <i>Gilbert Millington.</i> | <i>Humphrey Edwards.</i> |
| <i>John Blackistone.</i> | <i>Gregory Clement.</i> |
| <i>Sir William Constable, Bar.</i> | <i>Thomas Wogan.</i> |
| <i>John Hutchinson.</i> | <i>Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.</i> |
| <i>Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.</i> | <i>John Venn.</i> |
| <i>John Dixwell.</i> | <i>Thomas Scott.</i> |
| <i>James Temple.</i> | <i>Edmund Harvey.</i> |
| <i>Tho. Andrews, Ald. of Lond.</i> | <i>William Cawley.</i> |
| <i>Anthony Stapeley.</i> | <i>Thomas Horton.</i> |
| <i>Tho. Hamond.</i> | <i>Augustine Garland.</i> |
| <i>Peter Temple.</i> | <i>Daniel Blagrove.</i> |
| <i>Edmund Ludlov.</i> | |

64 Commissioners present.

Sir Hardress Waller, *Col. Harrison*, Commissary Gen. *Ireton*, *Col. Deane*, and *Col. Okey*, are appointed to consider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the Sentence against the King.

And then the Court Adjourned it self till *Monday Morning* at Eight of the Clock to this Place.

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The more full Account of this Days Action, take as follows.

The King being come in in his wonted Posture, with his Hat on, some of the Soldiers began to call for *Justice, Justice, and Execution*: But Silence being Commanded, *His Majesty* began:

I desire a Word, to be heard a little; and I hope I shall give no occasion of Interruption.

Bradshaw Sawcily Answered,
You may answer in your time, Hear the Court first.

His Majesty patiently Replied,

If it please you, Sir, I desire to be heard; and I shall not give any occasion of interruption; and it is only in a word. A sudden Judgment----

Bradshaw. Sir, You shall be heard in due time; but you are to hear the Court first.

King. Sir, *I desire it; it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say: and therefore, Sir,---A hasty Judgment is not so soon recalled.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You shall be heard before the Judgment be given; and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. Well, Sir, Shall I be heard before the Judgment be given?

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or most of you here present, That the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented and brought before this Court, to make Answer to a Charge of Treason and other high Crimes exhibited against him in the Name of the People of *England*: To which Charge being required to Answer, he hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reasoning and Debate unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Highest Court, that ap-

Here a Lady interpos'd saying, Not half the People; but was silenced with Threats.

pointed them to Try and Judge him : But being over-ruled in that, , and required to make his Answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit to answer.

Hereupon, the Court, that they might not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust reposed in them, nor that any mans Wilfulness prevent Justice, they have thought fit to take the Matter into their consideration ; they have considered of the Charge, they have considered of the Contumacy, and of that Confession which in Law doth arise upon that Contumacy ; they have likewise considered of the Notoriety of the Fact charged upon this Prisoner : And upon the whole Matter, they are resolved, and are agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced against this Prisoner. But in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him.

Yet, *Sir*, Thus much I must tell you beforehand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, That if that which you have to say, be to offer any debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it. You have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the *Commons of England* ; which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed it is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But, *Sir*, if you have any thing to say in Defence of your self concerning the Matter Charged, the Court hath given me in command to let you know they will hear you.

King. *Since I see that you will not hear any thing of Debate concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it : But only I must tell you, That this many-a-day all things have been taken away from Me, but that that I call dearer to Me than My Life, which is My Conscience, and My Honour : And if I had a respect to My Life more than the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly*
I should

I should have made a particular Defence for my self; for by that at leastwise I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will pass upon me. Therefore certainly, Sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the World, if that my true Zeal to my Countrey, had not overborn the care that I have for my own Preservation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive that an hasty Sentence once past, may sooner be repented of, than recalled: And truly, the self same desire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular Ends, makes me now at last desire, That I having something to say that concerns both, before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons. This Delay cannot be prejudicial unto you, whatsoever I say. If that I say no reason, those that hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have. If it be Reason, and really for the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am sure on it, it is very well worth the hearing: Therefore I do conjure you, as you love that that you pretend, (I hope it is real) the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this Hearing before any Sentence be past. I only desire this, That you will take this into your consideration; it may be you have not heard of it beforehand. If you will, I will retire, and you may think of it: but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do protest, That these fair Shewes of Liberty and Peace are pure Shewes, and that you will not hear your King.

Bradshaw. Sir, You have now spoken.

King. Yes, Sir.

Bradshaw. And this that you have said, is a further declining of the Jurisdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. Pray excuse Me, Sir, for my interruption, because you mistake Me. It is not a declining of it; you do judge Me before you hear me speak. I say it will not, I do not decline it; though I cannot acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, yet, Sir, in this, give Me leave to say, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it; in this I do protest, it is not the declining of it, since, I say, if that I do say any thing but that
that

that is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, then the shame is Mine. Now I desire that you will take this into your consideration: if you will, I will withdraw.

Bradshaw. Sir, This is not altogether new that you have moved to us, not altogether new to us, though the first time in person you have offered it to the Court. Sir, You say you do not decline the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. Not in this that I have said.

Bradshaw. I understand you well, Sir; but nevertheless, that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that Saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence. It is not as you say, *That they will not bear their King*; for they have been ready to hear You; they have patiently waited Your pleasure for three Courts together, to hear what You would say to the Peoples Charge against You: To which You have not vouchsafed to give any Answer at all. Sir, this tends to a further Delay. Truly, Sir, such Delays as these, neither may the Kingdom nor Justice well bear. You have had three several days to have offered in this kind what You would have pleased. This Court is founded upon that Authority of the *Commons of England*, in whom rests the Supream Jurisdiction. That which You now tender, is to have another Jurisdiction, and a co-ordinate Jurisdiction. I know very well You express Your self, Sir, That notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, yet nevertheless You would proceed on here; I did hear You say so. But, Sir, that You would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in Delay of the Justice here; so as if this Court be resolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that You offer they are not bound to grant. But, Sir, According to that You seem to desire, and because You shall know the further Pleasure of the Court upon that which You have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

This he did to prevent the disturbance of their Scene by one of their own Members, Col. *John Downes*, who could not stifle the Reluctance of his Conscience, when he saw his Majesty press so earnestly for a short Hearing ; but declaring himself unsatisfied, forced them to yield to the King's Request.

King. *Shall I withdraw ?*

Bradshaw. Sir, You shall know the Pleasure of the Court presently.

The Court withdraws for half an hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant at Arms. The Court gives Command that the Prisoner be withdrawn ; and they give Order for his Return again.

Then withdrawing into the Chamber of the *Court of Wards*, their Business was not to consider of His Majesties Desire, but to chide *Downes*, and with Reproachs and Threats to harden him to go through the remainder of their Villany with them.

Which done, they return ; and being late, Bradshaw commanded,

Serjeant at Arms, Send for your Prisoner.

Who being come, Bradshaw proceeded.

Sir, You were pleased to make a Motion here to the Court, to offer a Desire of yours touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, for the Peace of the Kingdom. Sir, You did in effect receive an Answer before the Court Adjourned : Truly, Sir, their Withdrawing and Adjournment was *pro forma tantum* ; for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing.

thing. They have considered of what you have moved, and have considered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often said, upon the Supream Authority of the *Commons of England Assembled in Parliament*: The Court acts accordingly to their Commission. Sir, The Return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer, hath occasioned some little further Delay; and they are Judges appointed by the highest Authority, and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Justice: They are good Words in the *Great Old Charter of England*, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus Justitiam*: There must be no Delay. But the truth is, Sir, and so every man here observes it, that you have much delayed them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might long since have proceeded to Judgment against you; and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgment, and that is their unanimous Resolution.

King. Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute; I am no Sceptick for to deny the Power that you have; I know that you have Power enough. Sir, I must confess, I think it would have been for the Kingdoms Peace, if you would have taken the pains to have shewn the Lawfulness of your Power.

For this Delay that I have desired, I confess it is a Delay; but it is a Delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom: For it is not My Person that I look at alone, it is the Kingdoms Welfare, and the Kingdoms Peace.

It is an old Sentence, That we should think on long before we resolve of great Matters suddenly. Therefore, Sir, I do say again, that I do put at your doors all the inconveniency of a hasty Sentence. I confess I have been here now, I think, this Week, this day eight days was the day I came here first; but a little Delay of a Day or two further, may give Peace, whereas a hasty Judgment may bring on that trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may repent it. And therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to God and to My Countrey, I do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber,

Chamber, or any other Chamber that you will appoint Me.

Bradshaw. You have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the Resolution and the Judgment of the Court in it; And the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for your self than you have said, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. I say this, Sir, That if you hear Me, if you will give Me but this Delay, I doubt not but I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that you will consider it once again.

Bradshaw. Sir, I have received Direction from the Court.

King. Well, Sir.

Bradshaw. If this must be re-inforced, or any thing of this nature, your Answer must be the same; and they will proceed to Sentence, if you have nothing more to say.

King. I have nothing more to say; but I shall desire that this may be entred what I have said.

Bradshaw. The Court then, Sir, hath something to say unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing and are resolved to discharge their Duty.

Then *Bradshaw* went on in a long Harangue, endeavouring to justify their Proceedings, misapplying Law and History, and raking up and wresting whatsoever he thought fit for his purpose, alledging the Examples of former Treasons and Rebellions, both at home and abroad, as authentick Proofs; and concluding, that the King was a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and Publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of England.

His

His Majesty having with his wonted Patience heard all these Reproaches, answered,

I would desire only one Word before you give Sentence, and that is, That you would hear Me concerning those great imputations that you have laid to My Charge.

Bradshaw. Sir, You must give me now leave to go on ; for I am not far from your Sentence, and your time is now past.

King. But I shall desire you will hear Me a few Words to you ; for, truly, whatever Sentence you will put upon Me, in respect of those heavy imputations that I see by your speech you have put upon Me. Sir, it is very true that---

Bradshaw. Sir, I must put you in mind : Truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say that is proper for us to admit of : But, Sir, You have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of People met together, and we know what Language we receive from your Party.

King. I know nothing of that.

Bradshaw. You disavow us as a Court, and therefore for you to address your self to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted. And the truth is, all along from the first time you were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word ; for unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak. Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much Delay, and we may not admit of any further. Were it proper for us to do, we should hear you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great and heinous Charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, Sir, I shall trouble you no longer ; your Sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad

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consideration, and they may improve in you a sad and serious Repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wish, that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have Mercy at leastwise upon your better part. Truly, Sir, for the other, it is our Parts and Duties to do that that the Law prescribes. We are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*: We cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us; *For to acquit the Guilty, is of equal abomination as to condemn the Innocent.* We may not acquit the Guilty. What Sentence the Law affirms to a Traytor, Tyrant, a Murderer, and a Publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you; and that is the Sentence of the Court.

Make an O Yes, and command Silence while the Sentence is read.

Which done, their Clerk, Broughton, read the Sentence, drawn up in Parchment.

Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament, had appointed them an High Court of Justice for the Trial of CHARLES STUART, King of England, before whom he had been three times convicted, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors, was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of England,

[*Here the Charge was repeated.*]

Which Charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he the said CHARLES STUART, was required to give his Answer; but he refused so to do:

[*Expressing the several Passages of his refusing in the former Proceedings.*]

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That he the said CHARLES STUART, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a Publick Enemy, shall be put to Death by the severing of his Head from his Body.

Which

Which being read, *Bradshaw* added,
The Sentence now Read and Published, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Resolution of the whole Court.

To which they all expressed their Assent by standing up, as was before Agreed and Ordered.

His Majesty then said,
Will you hear me a Word, Sir?

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. No, Sir?

Bradshaw. No, Sir; by your Favour, Sir.

Guard, Withdraw your Prisoner.

King. *I may speak after Sentence, by your favour, Sir, I may speak after Sentence, ever.*

By your favour, hold: the Sentence, Sir, --- I say, Sir, I do----

I am not suffered to speak; expect what Justice other People will have.

His Majesty being taken away by the Guard, as he passed down the Stairs, the insolent Soldiers scoffed at him, casting the smoke of their Tobacco (a thing very distastful unto him) in his Face, and throwing their Pipes in his way; And one more insolent than the rest, spitting in his Face, his Majesty, according to his wonted Heroick Patience, took no more notice of so strange and barbarous an Indignity, than to wipe it off with his Handkerchief.

As he passed along, hearing the Rabble of Soldiers, crying out, *Justice, Justice*; he said,

Poor Souls, for a piece of Money they would do so for their Commanders.

Being brought first to Sir Robert Cotton's, and thence to Whitehall, the Soldiers continued their brutish Carriage toward him, abusing all that seemed to shew any respect, or even Pity to him; not suffering him to rest in his Chamber, but thrusting in, and smoking their Tobacco, and disturbing his Privacy.

But through all these Tryals (unusual to Princes) he passed with such a calm and even Temper, that he let fall nothing unbeseeming his former Majesty and Magnanimity.

In

In the Evening, a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with his Majesties Desire, *That seeing they had passed a Sentence of Death upon him, and his time might be nigh, he might see his Children; and Doctor Juxon Bishop of London, might be admitted to assist him in his private Devotions, and Receiving the Sacrament.*

Both which at length were granted.

And the next day, being Sunday, He was attended by the Guard to S. James's; where the Bishop Preached before Him upon these Words, *In the day when God shall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel.*

H I S

HIS MAJESTIES
S P E E C H

TO THE

Lady ELIZABETH,

AND

HENRY Duke of GLOUCESTER,

January 29. 164 $\frac{8}{9}$.

Of His Majesties Discourse to His Children, there being Several Relations, it is thought fit to represent the Several Copies.

I.

A True Relation of the King's Speech to the Lady Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, the Day before his Death.

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He first gave His Blessing to the Lady Elizabeth; and bade her remember to tell her Brother James, whenever she should see him, that it was his Fathers last Desire, that he should no more look upon Charles as his Eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign: And that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then said the King to her, *Sweet-Heart, You will forget this.* No, said she, *I shall never forget it whilst I live;* and pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

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Then

Then the King taking the D. of Gloucester upon His Knee, said, *Sweet-Heart, Now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which Words, the Child looked very stedfastly upon Him) Mark, Child, what I say; They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make Thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King so long as Your Brothers Charles and James do live; for they will cut off Your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off Thy Head too at last; and therefore I charge You, do not be made a King by them.* At which, the Child sighing, said, *I will be torn in pieces first.* Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

II.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths own Hand.

WHat the King said to Me the 29th. of January 1648. Being the last time I had the happiness to see Him, He told Me, He was glad I was come; and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me, which He had not to another, or leave in Writing, because He feared their Cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for Him, for that would be a *Glorious Death* that He should die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the *True Protestant Religion*. He bid me read Bishop Andrews's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Bishop Laud's Book against Fisher; which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His Thoughts had never strayed from her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withal He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her, and bid me send

send His Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends.

So after He had given me His Blessing, I took my Leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those People, but never to trust them, for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them Power ; and He feared also to their own Souls : And desired me not to grieve for Him, for he should die a *Martyr* ; and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all happier than we could have expected to have been if he had lived. With many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

III.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth.

THE King said to the Duke of Gloucester, That he would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his Soul. He told him, that he heard the Army intended to make him King ; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the Welfare of his Soul, for he had two Brothers before him ; and therefore commanded him upon his Blessing never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him ; and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

Painted

Painted Chamber.

Lune, 29 Jan. 1648.

Three Proclamations made.

The Court is called.

The Commissioners Present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, *Lord President* of this Court.*Oliver Crowwell.**Henry Ireton.**Sir Hardres Waller*, Knight.*Valentine Wanton.**Thomas Harrison.**Edward Whalley.**Thomas Pride.**Isaac Ewers.**Richard Ingoldsby.**Tho. L. Grey of Groby.**Sir John Bourchier*, Kt.*Henry Marten.**William Paresjoy.**John Barkstead.**John Blackstone.**Gilbert Millington.**Sir William Constable*, Bar.*Edmond Ludlow.**John Hutchinson.**Sir Michael Livesey*, Bar.*James Temple.**John Dixwell.**Peter Temple.**Robert Tichbourne.**Owen Roe.**Adrian Scroope.**Richard Deane.**John Okey.**John Huson.**William Goffe.**John Jones.**Francis Allen.**Peregr. Pelham.**John Anlaby.**William Say.**Henry Smith.**Humphrey Edwards.**John Venn.**Thomas Scot.**William Cavley.**Thomas Horton.**John Lisle.**Nicholas Love.**Vincent Potter.**Augustine Garland.**Simon Meyne.**Daniel Blagrove.*48 Com-
missioners
present.

Upon Report made from the Committee for considering the Time and Place of the Executing of the Judgment against the King, that the said Committee have Resolved, That the open Street before *White-Hall*, is a fit Place, and that the said Committee conceive it fit that the King be there Executed the Morrow, the King having already Notice thereof; The Court approved thereof, and Ordered a Warrant to

to be drawn for that purpose; which said Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto, and Ordered to be Engrossed; which was done, and Signed and Sealed accordingly, as followeth, *viz.*

At the High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of CHARLES STUART, King of England, Jan. 29. 1648.

WHereas CHARLES STUART, King of England, is and standeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of *High Treason*, and other *High Crimes*, and Sentence upon Saturday last was Pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to Death by the severing of his Head from his Body, of which Sentence, Execution yet remaineth to be done; These are therefore to Will and Require you to see the said Sentence Executed in the open Street before *White-Hall*, upon the Morrow, being the Thirtieth Day of this instant Month of *January*, between the hours of Ten in the Morning, and Five in the Afternoon of the same Day, with full effect. And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. And these are to require all Officers, Soldiers and others, the Good People of this Nation of *England*, to be assisting unto you in this Service.

Given under our Hands and Seals.

*To Col. Francis Hacker, Col. Huncks,
and Lieutenant Col. Phray, and
to every of them.*

F f

Sealed

Sealed and Subscribed by

John Bradshaw.
Tho. Grey.
Oliver Cromwell.
Edward Whalley.
Michael Livesey.
John Okey.
John Danvers.
John Bourchier.
Henry Ireton.
Thomas Maleverer.
John Blackstone.
John Hutchinson.
William Goffe.
Thomas Pride.
Peter Temple.
Tho. Harrison.
John Huson.
Henry Smith.
Peregrine Pelham.
Simon Meyne.
Thomas Horton.
John Jones.
John Moore.
Hardress Waller.
Gilbert Millington.
George Fleetwood.
John Alured.
Robert Lilbourne.
William Say.
Anthony Stapeley.

Richard Deane.
Robert Tichbourne.
Humphrey Edwards.
Daniel Blagrove.
Owen Roe.
William Purefoy.
Adrian Scroope.
James Temple.
Augustine Garland.
Edmund Ludlow.
Henry Marten.
Vincent Potter.
William Constable.
Richard Ingoldsby.
William Cawley.
John Berkstead.
Isaac Ewers.
John Dixwell.
Valentine Wanton.
Gregory Norton.
Tho. Challoner.
Thomas Wogan.
John Venn.
Gregory Clement.
John Downes.
Thomas Waite.
Thomas Scott.
John Carew.
Miles Corbet.

It was Ordered, That the Officers of the Ordnance within the Tower of London, or any other Officer or Officers of the Store within the said Tower, in whose Hands or Custody the bright Execution-Axe for the Executing Malefactors, is, do forthwith deliver unto Edward Dendy, Esq; Serjeant at Arms, attending this Court, or his Deputy or Deputies, the said Axe ; and for their or either of their so doing, this shall be their Warrant,

Directed to Col. John White, or any other Officer within the Tower of London, whom it concerneth,

The

The Court Adjourned till to morrow Morning at Nine of the Clock.

* *Mercurii*, 30 Jan. 1648.

* *Martis*.

Painted Chamber,

Commissioners meet.

Ordered, *That Mr. Marshall, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Salway, and Mr. Dell be desired to Attend the King, to Administer to him those Spiritual Helps as should be futable to his present Condition. And Lieut. Col. Goffe is desired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpose.*

Who did so, but after informed the Court, That the King being acquainted therewith, refused to confer with them; expressing, that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, *That the Scaffold upon which the King is to be Executed, be covered with Black.*

The Warrant for Executing the King, being accordingly delivered to those Parties to whom the same was directed, Execution was done upon him, according to the Tenor of the said Warrant, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon of the said Thirtieth of *January*.

Mr.

Mr. Phelpes makes as short Work of this part of the Narrative, as his Infamous Masters had done of their Pretended Tryal of this Illustrious Innocent; and therefore to supply that Defect, take the following Account of the Conclusion of this Dismal Tragedy.

Tuesday, the Thirtieth of January, the Fatal Day, being come, the Commissioners met, and Ordered four or five of their Ministers to attend upon the King at St. James's, where they then kept him; but his Majesty well knowing what miserable Comforters they were like to prove, refused to have Conference with them.

That Morning, before his Majesty was brought thence, the Bishop of London (who with much ado was permitted to wait upon him a day or two before, and to assist him in that sad Instant) read Divine Service in his Presence; in which the 27th. of St. Matt. (the History of our Saviours Crucifixion) proved the Second Lesson. The King supposing it to have been selected on purpose, thank'd him afterwards for his seasonable Choice: But the Bishop modestly declining that, undue Thanks, told him that it was the Lesson appointed by the Calendar for that day, He also then and there received of the Bishop the Holy Sacrament, and performed all his Devotions in preparation to his Passion.

Which ended, about Ten of the Clock his Majesty was brought from St. James's to White-Hall, by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying and Drums beating, part marching before, and part behind, with a private Guard of Partisans about him, the Bishop on the one hand, and Col. Tomlinson (who had the Charge of him) on the other, both bare-headed, his Majesty walking very fast, and bidding them go faster, added,

That, he now went before them to strive for an Heavenly Crown,

Crown, with less solicitude than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.

Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery in White-Hall, & so into the Cabinet-Chamber, where he us'd formerly to lodge. There finding an unexpected Delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had not as then fitted, he past the time, at convenient Distances, in Prayer.

About Twelve of the Clock, his Majesty refusing to Dine, , only eat a Bit of Bread, and drank a Glafs of Claret; and about an hour after, Col. Hacker, with other Officers and Soldiers, brought him, with the Bishop and Col. Tomlinson, through the Banqueting-House to the Scaffold, to which, the Passage was made through a Window.

Divers Companies of Foot and Troops of Horse were placed on each side of the Street, which hindred the Approach of the very numerous Spectators, and the King from speaking what he had premeditated, and prepared for them to hear.

Whereupon, his Majesty finding himself disappointed, omitted much of his intended Matter; and for what he meant to speak, directed himself chiefly to Col. Tomlinson.

I shall be very little heard of any body here; I shall therefore speak a Word unto you here.

Indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think that I did submit to the Guilt as well as to the Punishment: But I think it is my Duty, to God first, and to my Country, for to clear my self both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian.

I shall begin first with my Innocence.

In troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this; for all the World knows that I never did begin a War first with the Two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witnes, to whom I must shortly make an Account, that I never did intend for to encroach upon their Priviledges; they

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began

began upon me ; it is the Militia they began upon ; they confess that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me. And to be short, if any body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, they will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So that as to the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it. I will not (I am in Charity) God forbid that I should lay it on the Two Houses of Parliament ; there is no necessity of either : I hope they are free of this Guilt. For I do believe that ill Instruments between them and me have been the chief Cause of all this Bloodshed : So that by way of speaking, as I find my self clear of this, I hope and pray God that they may too. Yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say that God's Judgments are just upon me ; many times he does pay Justice by an unjust Sentence ; that is ordinary : I will only say this, That an unjust Sentence that I suffered to take effect, is punished now by an unjust Sentence upon me. That is, --- So far I have said, to shew you that I am an Innocent Man.

Upon the E.
of Strafford

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian ;

Pointing to
the Bishop.

I hope there is a good Man that will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of my Death : Who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further ; I wish that they may repent ; for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular ; I pray God with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their Charge. Nay, not only so, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom : For my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the last gasp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my Soul, (and I do hope there is some here will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

Turning to
some Gentle-
men that
wrote,

Now, Sirs, I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in a way.

First, You are out of the way : For certainly all the way
you

you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conquest. Certainly this is an ill way; for Conquest, Sir, in my opinion, is never just, except there be a good just Cause, either for matter of wrong or just Title; and then if you go beyond it, the first Quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at the first. But if it be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pyrate said to Alexander the Great, That he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber. And so, Sir, I do think the way that you are in is much out of the way.

Now, Sir, for to put you in the way; believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his Due, the King his Due (that is, My Successors) and the People their Due: I am as much for Them as any of you.

You must give God his Due, by Regulating rightly his Church according to his Scripture, which is now out of Order. For to set you in a way particularly, now I cannot, but only this, a National Synod, freely Called, freely Debating among themselves, must settle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not.-----

(Then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Axe, he said,

Hurt not the Axe, that may hurt me.)

For the King, The Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it.

For the People: And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you that their Liberty and Freedom consists in having of Government, those Laws by which their Life and their Goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in Government, Sir; that is nothing pertaining to them: a Subject and a Sovereign are clear different things. And therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves. Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbi-

Arbi-

Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here ; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the MARTYR of the People.

In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer ; for I will only say this to you, That in truth I could have desired some little time longer, because that I would have put this that I have said in little more order, and a little better digested than I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvation.

Then the Bishop said,

Though it be very well known what your Majesties Affections are to the Protestant Religion, yet it may be expected that You should say somewhat for the Worlds satisfaction in that Particular.

Whereupon the King replied,

I thank you very heartily, My Lord, for that, I had almost forgotten it.

In troth, Sirs, My Conscience in Religion, I think is very well known to all the World ; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father ; and this honest man I think will witness it.

Pointing to the Bishop.

Then turning to the Officers, He said,

Sirs, Excuse me for this same, I have a good Cause, and I have a gracious God, I will say no more.

Then to Col. Hacker he said,

Take care that they do not put me to pain. And, Sir, this, and it please you----

But

But a Gentleman coming near the Axe, the King said,

Take heed of the Axe, pray take heed of the Axe.

And to the Executioner he said,

I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my hands---

Then he called to the Bishop for his Cap, and having put it on asked the Executioner,

Does my Hair trouble you?

Who desired him to put it all under his Cap; which as he was doing, by the help of the Bishop and the Executioner, he turned to the Bishop, and said,

I have a good Cause, and a gracious God on my side.

The Bishop said,

There is but one Stage more; which, though turbulent and troublesome, yet it is a very short one; you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you shall find, to your great Joy, the Prize you hasten to, a Crown of Glory.

These words were spoken upon occasion of private Discourse between His Majesty & the Bishop concerning the several Stages of mans Life, and his Course through them, in allusion to Posts and Stages in a Race.

The King adjoins.

I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.

Bishop. You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown. A good Exchange!

Then the King asked the Executioner,

Is my Hair well?

H h

And

And taking off his *Cloak* and *George*, he delivered his *George* to the *Bishop*, saying,
Remember.

Then putting off his *Doublet*, and being in his *Waist-coat*, he put on his *Cloak* again, and looking upon the *Block*, said to the *Executioner*,
You must set it fast.

Executioner. It is fast, *Sir.*

King. It might have been a little higher.

Executioner. It can be no higher, *Sir.*

King. When I put out my hands this way, then----

Then having said a few Words to himself, as he stood, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his Neck upon the *Block*, and the *Executioner* again putting his Hair under his Cap, his Majesty thinking he had been going to strike bad him

Stay for the Sign.

Executioner. Yes I will and it please your Majesty.

After a very short pause, his Majesty stretching forth his Hands, the *Executioner* severed his head from his Body: Which being held up and shewed to the People, was with his Body put into a Coffin covered with Velvet, and carried into his Lodging.

His Blood was taken up by divers Persons for different ends: By some as trophies of their Villany, by others as Reliques of a Martyr; and in some hath had the same effect by the Blessing of God, which was often found in his Sacred Touch when living.

The Malice of his Enemies ended not with his Life: For when his Body was carried to St. *James's* to be opened, they directed their Empiricks to search for such Symptoms as might disgrace his Person or his Posterity; but herein they were prevented by an honest Intruder, who gave a true account of his Sound and Excellent Temperament.

Being

Being imbalmed and laid in a Coffin of Lead, to be seen for some dayes by the People, at length upon *Wednesday* the seventeenth of *February*, it was delivered to four of His servants, *Herbert, Mildmay, Preston* and *Joyner*, who with some others in mourning Equipage attended the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in the Room which was formerly the Kings Bed-Chamber.

Next day it was removed into the Deans Hall, which was hung with black and made dark, and Lights were set burning round the Herse. About three Afternoon the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, and the Bishop of *London*, (others that were sent, to refusing that last service to the best of Princes) came thither with two Votes passed that morning, whereby the ordering of the Kings Burial was committed to the Duke, provided that the Expences thereof exceeded not Five Hundred Pound. This Order they shewed to Colonel *Whitchcot* the Governour of the Castle desiring the interment might be in *St. George's Chappel*, and according to the Form of the *Common-Prayer*: The latter Request the Governour denied, saying that it was improbable the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own Act.

The Lords replied.

That there was a difference betwixt destroying their own Act, and dispensing with it, and that no power so binds its own hands, as to disable it self in some cases. But all prevailed not.

The Governour had caused an ordinary Grave to be digged in the Body of the Church of *Windsor* for the interment of the Corps; which the Lords disdain- ing found means by the direction of an Honest Man, one of the old Knights, to use an Artifice to discover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, by the hollow sound they might perceive in knocking with a staff upon that place; that so it might

might seem to be their own accidental finding out, and no person receive blame for the discovery. This place they caused to be opened, and entring saw one large Coffin of Lead in the middle of the Vault covered with a Velvet Pall, and a lesser on one side (supposed to be *Henry* the eighth, and his beloved Queen *Jane Saint-Maure*) on the other side was room left for another (probably intended for Queen *Katherine Parre*, who survived him) where they thought fit to lay the King.

Hither the Herse was born by the Officers of the Garrison, the four Lords bearing up the Corners of the Velvet Pall, and the Bishop of *London* following. And in this manner was this great King, upon *Fryday* the ninth of *February*, about three, afternoon, Silently and without other Solemnity then of sighs and tears, committed to the Earth, the Velvet Pall being thrown into the vault over the Coffin, to which was fastned an Inscription in Lead of these Words,

King Charles, 1648.

Painted

Painted Chamber.

The Commissioners of the High Court of Justice met,
Jan. 30. 1648. post Merid.

Col. Hewson.

Col. Okey.

Mr. Carey.

Col. Deane.

Mr. Allen.

Mr. Scott.

Col. Titchbourne.

Mr. Holland.

Col. Wauton.

Col. Ja. Temple.

Col. Ludlow.

Mr. Meyne.

Col. Rowe.

They or any five of them shall have power, and are hereby appointed a Committee to issue forth their Warrants under five of their Hands, to Captain *John Blackwell*, for Disbursing and Payment of such Sums of Money as they shall think fit for the Service of this Court, upon such Bills as they shall allow, and to take a particular Account of the Moneys already disbursed and to be disbursed for the Service of this Court, and to make Report thereof to this Court, and are to meet in *Queens Court* on *Thursday* at Nine in the Morning; and the Care hereof is particularly referred to Col. *Titchbourne*.

They thereupon Adjourned till the Morrow.

Painted Chamber, Febr. 1. 1648.

The Commissioners being met, Lieut. Col. *Goffe*, Col. *Emers*, Col. *Pride*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, together with the rest of the Committee of Accounts, or any three or two of them are appointed and desired to take the Examination of *William Evans*, Gent. and of all others that shall be apprehended for any Words or Actions spoken or done against this Court, and to peruse all such Papers, Letters or Writings that shall be found with or about the said Persons, and to make Report thereof to the Court: And the Com-

mittee above mentioned are added to the Committee of Account.

And thereupon Adjourn till the Morrow.

Painted Chamber, Feb. 2. 1648.

The Commissioners being met,

Ordered, That Capt. Blackwell shall issue forth such Moneys as shall be requisite for satisfaction of all contingent Charges not yet satisfied in relation to the Trying, Judging and Execution of CHARLES STUART late King of England, according to such Warrant as he shall receive from the Committee appointed to take the Accounts of the Monies Disbursed for the Service of this Court; and the said Gentlemen are desired to meet at White-Hall to morrow Morning, and to take an exact Account from the said Captain Blackwell, of the Monies by him disbursed.

John Hall was brought before this Court upon Information, That he should be engaged in a Design against this Court; who being Examined concerning the same, and *Thomas Maurice, William Hitch* and *Tho. Baxter* Witnesses produced against him, being Sworn and Examined, the said *John Hall* was committed to the Custody of the Marshal General of the Army.

One *Mr. Nelson* and *Mr. Evans* were likewise brought before the Court upon an Information Exhibited against them, of a Practice and Design, that they were Engaged in against this Court; and *John Minshaw, Mary Minshaw, John White, and John Haydon* Clerk, were Sworn, and gave Evidence against them.

Ordered, That the said Evans and Nelson be committed to the Custody of the Marshal General of the Army, and Col. Moore is desired to acquaint the House herewith.

The Lord President moved the Court, That in regard the Courts Commission is now determining, care may be

be likewise taken for a sufficient Remuneration for the Guards that have so freely and chearfully attended the *Lord President* and the Court.

Col. *Titchbourne* Reports from the Committee appointed for that purpose, That the said Committee have considered of a Gratuity to be given unto the respective Officers and Attendants of this Court ; of which Allowances this Court doth approve, and desire Col. *Harrison* to move the House for Moneys to satisfie the same, and all other Charges of this Court.

Mr. *Garland*

Mr. *Lisle*

Sir *Hardress Waller*

Mr. *Say*

Commissary Gen. *Ireton*

Mr. *Marten*

Mr. *Scott*

The aforesaid Members of this Court, or any three of them are Ordered on the behalf of this Court to peruse and consider the Substance of the Proceedings of this Court, and prepare the same to be presented to the *House of Commons* ; and Mr. *Say* is Ordered to present it.

By the Expiration of the Month in the Act mentioned , the Commission determined.

Attested per *John Phelpes*, Clerk
to the said Court.

*Examined, and Attested
to be a True Copy from
the Original, By me*

John Nalson.

THE

THE CONCLUSION.

THUS fell the most Glorious *Monarch*, and most Admirable *Monarchy* of the whole Universe. By these Hands were the Manacles of Slavery, and the Yoke of the most Arbitrary Servitude put upon the Neck and Hands of the *English* Nation; and the same Blow which severed that Royal Head and Body, cut the very Nerves and Ligaments of the *English* Liberty; and even those men who begun that detestable Rebellion, upon the most Solemn Pretences of freeing the Nation from the imminent Dangers of *Popery* and Arbitrary Power, erected the most unbounded Tyranny, and gave the greatest Advantages to *Popery*, and the most mortal Wound to the Reformed *Catholick* Religion, that ever it received since *Rome* first left us, because we left her unwarrantable, unfound and unprimitive Practices and Doctrines, some of which have such a Treasonable Conformity with those of our bloody Regicides, as if there were nothing else were sufficient to excuse the Church of *Englands* Departure from *Rome*, from the imputation of *Schism*. These were the men, who to amuse the People, and animate them to Rebellion, made such horrid Exclamations against *Priests* and *Jesuits*, and yet themselves Acted what the very worst men of those Orders had ever written; who reduced those Fatal Doctrines of the *Lawfulness* of *Resisting*, even by Armed Force; of *Deposing* and *Murdering* Crowned Heads; from the dull Theory whereof they so clamorously accused the *Papists* into the execrable *Act* and *Practice*; these were the glorious Founders, Promoters and Encouragers of the *Separation*, who scorning the little Villanies of a *Clement*, or a *Ravaiac*, or the more secret Methods of murdering Princes, made the very Sun blush to behold their Triumphant and Daring Wickedness; being resolved to eternize themselves for the most *Renowned Villains*, by surpassing all that ever went before them; and to outdo
even

even *Cassius* and ingrateful *Brutus* with the sneaking three and twenty Daggers of the *Roman* Senators, who to recover their *Commonwealth-Liberty*, murdered *Cæsar*, by solemnly murdering a most Lawful Sovereign; whereas the others, wretchedly enough, took away only the Life of a bold *Usurper*.

These are the Principles which lead men insensibly from Conscientious Disobedience, to a Rebellious Conscience; and by the false Pretences of *Religious Zeal*, to commit such *Impieties* as modest *Heathens*, nay even some *Atheists* would blush at, and be ashamed to be guilty of.

Nor is it for one transient Act that we accuse them, but it is the eternal inseparable Mischiefs and Consequences of these Principles of Separation which we are for ever to dread; for as soon shall the Ocean quit its treacherous instability, and forget to Rage and Foam, and overthrow all its Banks upon the Summons of every impetuous Tempest, as these Turbulent Principles cease to be dangerous to the Peace and Repose of Mankind, or the safety of Government. As soon, nay sooner shall we see Lyons and Tygers, Wolves and Panthers become as tame, harmless and serviceable as our domestick Animals, as see their savage Principles permit those who come to be bewitched with them, continue to be *Innocent* longer then they are *Impotent*: For *Rebellion* with its portentous Retinue, is as naturally included in *Separation* as Fire in a Flint, and though it may sleep there so as to deceive the Ignorant, who never beleive there is fire but when their fingers are burnt, it will alwayes be ready upon the Summons of Steel to shew it self; and the Tinder-Conscience of Dissenters is as obedient as Gunpowder, to catch every Spark of *Rebellion* that falls into it, and improve it into a Combustion and Conflagration both of Church and State.

Now though Sovereign Princes have the greatest Stake in this World, their Crowns and Scepters, their

K k

Dignity,

Dignity, Lives and Honour, all which are manifestly in hazzard, where these Principles prevail ; and therefore it would be a foolish presumption to think they do not know their own Interest, and most insufferable Arrogance and Vanity to pretend to inform and instruct them ; yet since they can never suffer alone, and that Private persons of all Ranks, Degrees and Qualities, have Life, Liberty and Estates, which if their Possessors be Loyal, cannot avoid running the same course with the fortune of their Prince : Nay even those who propose to themselves the greatest advantages in Rebellion, should it prove successful, in the Conclusion are like to be the greatest Losers , the gains which they shall make by such Godliness, being the loss of their Souls and Bodies, Heaven and Eternal Happiness : Certainly it is the True interest of all *English-Men*, even for their own security and preservation, to endeavour to suppress the further growth and progress of their pernicious Principles of *Separation*.

Nor is it less the interest of the Dissenters themselves, to abandon those Disloyal and Ruinous Doctrines, Practices and Opinions, which are so destructive of the Peace, Happiness and Prosperity of this *Nation* ; and by a timely repentance to atone Heaven for the former Guilt, and most especially that of the Blood of this *Royal Martyr*, which as it evidently lies at their Door, so it cries aloud in the Ears of the Almighty Avenger of Blood for Vengeance ; and let them be assured, that though hand joyn in hand, it shall not go unpunished, if they continue obstinately impenitent. Nay their Confederacies and Common Union against the King and the Church, will be their ruine, and their *Associating* themselves in the Closest Conspiracies, will be but the *Prologue* to their punishment, and then that they may be broken in pieces : and truly if they were not infatuated to destruction , they could not but see the Miraculously Visible effects of Providence in the wonderful repeated Pre-fer-

fervation of his Majestyes Sacred Person, this Church and Monarchy from so many attempts, and Traite-rous Enterprizes of all their implacable Enemies: And if they do see all this, and will notwithstanding Run upon their own destruction, and the very mouth of Hell charged with Damnation, such desperate Rage, as it renders them more formidable, so ought it to render all honest Loyal Persons more vigilant and cautious against them; and to inspire them with the same, but more Noble Zeal to save their Country from Ruine, with which their Enemies are animated to seek its Destruction; and though *Charity* for them, commands us to pity them, yet that true *Charity* which begins at home, does at the same time oblige us to preserve our selves, as we would do from *Wolves* and *Tygers*, and other Furious Beasts of Prey, who are ready to devour us,

I know this naked Exposure of these Men and Principles, will expose me to the Rage, and entitle me to the Revenge of the Party; but if I have abused them, if I have misrepresented them, if I have traduced them, or if they are able to convince me of Fiction or Falshood, let them do it; I beg no Quarter, no Mercy from them; but if what I have written be Truth, *Magna est Veritas, & praevalabit*, I cannot fear the Rage neither of Men nor Devils; but must let them know assuredly that it will to their eternal Horror, Shame and Confusion, stand the Test and abide the Tryal of the God of Truth, to whose infallible Tribunal and definitive Sentence I submit my self; and let but the most angry of the Faction soberly, in retired thoughts, state themselves, their Principles and Actions, as they must one day, as if they were before the Almighty Judge, and I perswade my self, they would find occasion to return me Thanks for my severe Truths, rather than to any of their Deluders for their dangerous Flattery.

Be

Be it as it will, *liberavi Animam*; I wash my Hands of all the Miseries and Mischiefs which for want of *Precaution*, may happen either to, or from those of the *Separation*, by reason of these horrible Positions, Principles and Practices.

THE END.

A N

Alphabetical Catalogue

OF THE

M E M B E R S

Of the Execrable Pretended

High Court of Justice :

S H E W I N G

Which of them Acted, the times When, and Where, they Sate.
 By the Letters *P C*, are their Meetings in the *Painted Chamber*. *P C*,
W H, such as met in the *Painted Chamber* and Adjourned to *Westminster-*
Hall. *S W*, such as Signed the Warrant for the King's Murther.
W H S, such as was sitting in *Westminster-Hall* when Sentence was
 given.

| A. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
|----------------------------|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| <i>Allison Sir Will.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Atkins Thomas</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Armyn Sir Will.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Allen Francis</i> | | | | | | PC | | | WH | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Anlaby John</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Alured John</i> | PC | | | | PC | | | | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | | PC | SW |
| <i>Andrews Tho. Ald.</i> | | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | | | | PC | SW |
| | | | | | | | | | | WH | WH | | | | WH | |
| B. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| <i>Bourchier Sr Joh.</i> | PC | | PC | | | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC |
| <i>Barrington Sir Joh.</i> | | | | | | | | | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | | WH | SW |
| <i>Brereton Sir Will.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Bosville Godfrey</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Barkstead John</i> | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Blakeston John</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |

A Catalogue of the Members of the High Court of Justice.

| | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
|-----------------------------|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| <i>Berners Josias</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Bond Dennis</i> | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| <i>Bradshaw Joh. Pref.</i> | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Burrel Abraham</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Bainton St Edw.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Blunt Thomas</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Boon Thomas 20.</i> | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| <i>Blagrove Daniel</i> | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | | | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Brown John</i> | PC | | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC | | |
| C. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| <i>Rommel Oliver</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Constable Sr William</i> | | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Carew John</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Corbet Miles</i> | PC | | | | PC | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Challoner Thomas</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | | PC | WH | WH | WH | | PC | | | SW |
| <i>Challoner James</i> | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | | | WH | WH | | | | | | |
| <i>Clement Gregory</i> | PC | | | | | | | | WH | WH | WH | | | | PC | SW |
| <i>Cawley William</i> | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Corbet John</i> | | PC | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| D. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| <i>Anvers Sr Joh.</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Deane Richard</i> | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Disborough John</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Duckensfield Robert</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Darley Richard</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Dove John</i> | | | PC | PC | | | | PC | | | | | | PC | | |
| <i>Downes John</i> | PC | | PC | PC | PC | | | | WH | WH | WH | | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Dixwell John</i> | | PC | | PC | | | | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| E. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| <i>Wer Isaac 40.</i> | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| <i>Edwards Humph.</i> | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | | PC | PC | WH | SW |

Fairfax

A Catalogue of the Members of the High Court of Justice.

| F. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
|--|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| F <i>Airfax Tho. Lo.</i> | PC | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Fag John</i> | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Frye John</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | | |
| <i>Fowke John</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Fenwick George</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Fleetwood George</i> | | | | | | | PC | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC |
| G. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| G <i>Ray Tho. Lord of Groby</i> | PC | | | | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Goffe William</i> | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Gowdon John</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Gratwick Roger</i> | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| <i>Garland Augustine</i> | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| H. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| H <i>Arriison Tho.</i> | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Honywood Sr Tho.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Harrington Sr Jam.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Heveningham Will.</i> | PC | | | PC | | PC | | PC | | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Hutchinson John</i> | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Heslrigg Sr Arth.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Hewson John</i> | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Holland Cornel. 60</i> | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Harvey Edmond</i> | PC | | | | | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC |
| <i>Horton Thomas</i> | | | | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Hammond Thomas</i> | | | PC | | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Hill Roger</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| I <i>Rton Henry</i> | PC | PC | | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Ingoldesby Richard</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Jones John</i> | PC | | PC | | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |

A Catalogue of the Members of the High Court of Justice.

| L. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
|--------------------------|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| L isle Philip Lo. | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| Ludlow Edmund | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | | | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| Lambert John | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| Livesey Sr Michael | | | | | | | | PC | WH | WH | WH | | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| Lilburne Robert | | | | | PC | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | | PC | | WH | SW |
| Lister Thomas | | PC | | | | PC | | | PC | | | | | | | |
| Laffells Francis | PC | PC | | PC | | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | PC | | PC | | | |
| Lister John | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | | | PC | WH | PC |
| Love Nicholas | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | | | PC | WH | |
| Lenthal John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lowry John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| M ildmay Henry | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | | | | | | |
| Munson Wil. Lo. 80 | PC | | | | PC | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | | | PC | | |
| Maleverer Sr Tho. Bt | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| Mildmay Sr Henry | PC | PC | | | PC | | | | PC | | PC | | PC | PC | | |
| Masbam Sr William | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| Marten Henry | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | | | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| Morley Herbert | | | PC | | PC | | PC | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| Mallington Gilbert | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| Marwaring Robert | | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | | | | PC | |
| Moore John | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| Meyne Symon | | | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | | WH | PC | | PC | WH | SW |
| N. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| N ott John | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nelthorpe James | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | |
| Norton Sr Gregory | | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| Nicholas Robert | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| O key John | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | | PC | PC | PC | WH | SW |
| Overton Robert | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Pride

A Catalogue of the Members of the High Court of Justice.

| P. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
|-------------------------------|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| P <i>Ride Thomas</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Pennington Isaac Al.</i> | | | | | | | | | WH | WH | WH | PC | | | WH | WH |
| <i>Purefoy William</i> | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Pelham Peregrine</i> | PC | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Potter Vincent 100.</i> | | PC | | | PC | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH |
| <i>Pickering Sr Gilb. Bt</i> | | | | | | | | | | WH | WH | | | | | |
| R. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| R <i>Owe Owen</i> | | PC | PC | | | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Roberts Sr William</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Rigby Alexander</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Reynolds Robert</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| S. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| S <i>Kipon Philip</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Salway Richard</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Salway Humphrey</i> | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| <i>Scroop Adrian</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH |
| <i>Sydney Algernon</i> | | | | PC | PC | | | PC | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Say William</i> | | PC | PC | PC | | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | | | | PC | PC |
| <i>Smith Henry</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH |
| <i>Scott Thomas</i> | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH |
| <i>Stapeley Anthony</i> | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | | PC | PC |
| <i>Skinner Augustine</i> | | | | | | | | | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH |
| T. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 29. |
| T <i>Renchard John</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Tomlinson Matthew</i> | | | | | | | | | | WH | | | | | PC | PC |
| <i>Titchbourn Robert</i> | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH |
| <i>Thorp Francis</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Temple James 120</i> | PC | | PC | | PC | | | | PC | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC |
| <i>Temple Peter</i> | PC | PC | | | PC | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH | WH | PC | PC | PC | WH | WH |
| <i>Temple Sr Peter</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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A Catalogue of the Members of the High Court of Justice.

| V. | Jan. 8. | 10. | 12. | 13. | 15. | 17. | 18. | 19. | 20. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 29. | 29. |
|--|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------|----------|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|----------|
| V <i>Enn John</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | | PC WH | PC WH | PC WH | | PC | PC | PC WHS | PC SW |
| W <i>W. Aller Sir Hardieffs</i> | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC WH | PC WH | PC WH | | PC | PC | PC WHS | PC SW |
| <i>Wauton Valentine</i> | PC | PC | | PC | PC | | | | PC WH | PC WH | PC WH | | PC | PC | PC WHS | PC SW |
| <i>Whalley Edward</i> | PC | PC | | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC | PC WH | PC WH | PC WH | PC | PC | PC | PC WHS | PC SW |
| <i>Wroth St Thomas</i> | | | | | PC | | | | | PC WH | WH | | | | | |
| <i>Wallop Robert</i> | | | | | PC | | | | | WH | WH | | | | | |
| <i>Wilson Rowland</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Wentworth St Peter</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Weston Benjamin</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Wild Edmond</i> | | | | | | PC | | | PC | | | | PC | | PC | |
| <i>Wogan Thomas</i> | | | | | | | PC | | | WH | WH | | | PC | WHSS | SW |
| <i>Weaver John</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | PC | |
| <i>Wayte Thomas</i> 135 | | | | | | | | | | | | | PC | PC | WHS | SW |

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